

The English Scholar's Library of
Old and Modern Works

of Willoughby by Alford, Lincolnshire; President
of Virginia, and Admiral of New England

Works

1608-1631

PART I

FROM THE BEGINNING TO PAGE 382

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LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
TO THE UNIVERSITY OF
LONDON

WESTMINSTER
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO.

1895

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The Present Edition.

The text of the nine books, originally printed in different styles, has herein been normalized as to style of printing; and also broken up into convenient paragraphs, according to the sense. The punctuation has been harmonized with this; and also occasionally altered (though always with reluctance), wherever it plainly conflicted with the sense.

For all matter between square brackets, [], except on pp. ci-cxiv, the present Editor is responsible.

Some of the dates so inserted on pp. 821, 822 in this first *small paper* impression are wrong, and should be corrected by the date of GEORGE SMITH's Will at p. xix; and the entries from Willoughby parish register, at p. xxi.



P R E F A C E.

HE present Volume is intended to be a Literary Monument of one of the best and bravest of Englishmen. But though it may be regarded rather as a collection of materials for the *Life and Observations* of an English Captain in the reign of JAMES I., than any adequate Story of our colonization of Virginia, Bermuda, New England, Newfoundland, and some of the West Indian islands : yet there will be found in it, a large amount of irrefragable information, at first or second hand, respecting the first English Settlements in the New World.

Two hundred and fifty years have now passed away since JOHN SMITH of Willoughby in Lincolnshire, accomplished his noble life ; and yet in his native land he is unsung in Song, uncommemorated in stone or metal. Indeed, some, of late, would have him to be the Baron MUNCHAUSEN of his Age ; others, its swaggering and boasting PISTOL : but this unmerited cloud of detraction and discredit, with this Volume, passes away for ever ; and with a fuller knowledge, we delight to contemplate this hero of many fights, not only as the experienced and clear-headed practical man of business, but in his unstained character as an English Gentleman and Officer.

What Sir FRANCIS DRAKE was in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH, that was Captain JOHN SMITH in the reign of her successor. The times were changed. It was easy for DRAKE to equip fleets with

wealth acquired by captures at sea ; a career that SMITH would have only been too glad to have followed : but Colonial Pioneering brought with it no gains ; so that the victory therein lay rather in the endurance of starvation and hardships, in patience and self-forgetfulness, and in the unfaltering pursuit of a noble work through all losses and disparagements.

For want of an accessible Collected Edition of his Writings, popular ignorance has fastened itself upon one small fact in SMITH's career, that *mauvais quart d'heure* about the 3rd of January 1608, when POCOHONTAS saved his life : so that SMITH of Virginia without POCOHONTAS, would be like WILLIAM TELL without the Apple story. Whereas, that narrow escape formed but a mere incident in a life, which till then, and for some time afterwards, was simply replete with similar desperate hazards of all kinds. If he were now living, he would, we think, say that too much had been made of that POCOHONTAS matter : and that the terror of it was nothing like that of those fifteen days' flight on horseback from Nalbrits to Æropolis, in the autumn of 1603 ; or that dreadful night in an open boat off the Ile de Ré in November 1615. As an actual fact, SMITH took no particular notice of this short sudden jeopardy and his fortunate escape (having been daily carrying his life in his hand for years past, with an Englishman's usual delight in perils and adventures), until in the *General History* of 1624, he felt himself bound to do so, in order to give in its completeness the whole story of the James river Colony, pp. 85, 383. To have dwelt upon it in his earlier books would have been thought, at the time, an exhibition of personal vanity, in making too much of one out of many narrow escapes : his first five Works not being intended so much as records of personal adventures, as wholly consecrated to the advocacy and history of English colonization and fishing on the North American coasts.

For our part, we should say that we had no special knowledge of the sayings and doings of this Lincolnshire Captain, before we began this Collection of his Writings ; this reprint of which is

but a part of a general design to make the Eye-witness Accounts of the first English Settlements in the New World, a section of our modern English Literature.

In the Second Volume of *An English Garner*, we have reprinted PRINCE's *New England Chronology* (1736-1755); which is a kind of Primer of the whole subject down to 5 August 1633.

The present Text deals largely with Virginia, Bermuda, and New England.

In the Ninth Volume of *An English Garner* will be found a number of Eye-witness Accounts of the Settlements in Massachusetts Bay, &c.

We have already announced in this *English Scholar's Library*, the *Works* of WILLIAM BRADFORD, the second Governor of the Pilgrim Fathers: and it is our hope to follow that up with the *Works* of JOHN WINTHROP, which give us a full account of the Massachusetts Planting of 1629-30.

This series of reprints will therefore give such an insight into our early colonial struggles, as is possessed at present by very few Englishmen; and will also restore to us a lost chapter of our general Literature.

Therefore, as it is our purpose to do justice to all sides of this fascinating subject, we have approached the present Text perfectly free from any kind of partizanship. Inasmuch however as the accuracy of some of Captain SMITH's statements has, in this generation, been called in question; it was but our duty to subject every one of the nearly forty thousand lines of this book, to a most searching criticism; scanning every assertion of fact most keenly, and making the Text, by the insertion of a multitude of cross-references, prove or disprove itself.

The result is perfectly satisfactory. Allowing for a popular style of expression, the Text is homogeneous; and the nine books comprising it, though written under very diverse circumstances, and at intervals over the period of twenty-two years (1608-1630), contain no material contradictions. Inasmuch, therefore, as wherever we can check SMITH, we find him both modest and accurate; we are led to think him so, where no much check is

possible, as at Nalbrits in the autumn of 1603, and on the Chickahominy in the winter of 1607-8.

One cannot read the following Works, without seeing that JOHN SMITH was something more than a brave and experienced soldier. Not only in his modesty and self-restraint, his moderation and magnanimity, his loyalty to the King, affection for the Church, and love for his Country, did he represent the best type of the English Gentleman of his day; but he was also a man of singular and varied ability. His manysidedness is seen, as he is a Captain of Artillery at Stühlwessenberg and at Kanizsa, in Hungary, in 1601; or while "managing the fights" of the French pirate ship, off the Azores, in 1615: as he is a Captain of Cavalry in the plains of Girke in Hungary in 1601, and the battle of Rothenthurm in Transylvania, in 1602: as he is a Promoter, and the Saviour of the London or Southern Virginia Company in 1605-9: as he is the masterly Surveyor of inland Virginia in 1607-8: as he is the Discoverer of the Chesapeake Bay in 1608, and of the New England coast in 1614: as he is the enthusiastic Advocate and the eloquent Historian of English Colonization in America, 1614-30: as he is the first landsman who ever described in print all the parts, and all the working, of an English ship; and who wrote our first *Sea Grammar* in 1626: not to speak of the *History of the Sea* which he did not live to complete, and which is apparently now lost.

Put all this beside the one single POCOHONTAS incident by which he is popularly remembered, and one sees that the real JOHN SMITH is a far greater man than the mythical one.

It is not too much to say, that had not Captain SMITH of Willoughby, strove, fought, and endured as he did, the present United States of America might never have come into existence. It was contrary to all probability that, where so many had succumbed already, the Southern Virginian Company's expedition of 1606-7 should have succeeded. The Spaniards under DE SOTO, and the French under LAUDONNIÈRE had failed. The men sent out twenty years before by Sir WALTER RALEIGH, had never been

neard of : and the corresponding attempt of the Northern Virginian Company to Sagadahock, in that same year 1606, came to nothing.

To what one single cause, under GOD, can be assigned the preservation of the James river Settlement after the early death of Captain BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD, on 22 August 1607, but to the fortunate presence of this English Captain, so self-denying, so energetic, so full of resources, and so trained (by his conflicts and captivity in Eastern Europe) in dealing with the savage races? RATCLIFFE, ARCHER, and MARTIN, with all the rest of those who opposed him, lived in a fool's Paradise ; and paid for their folly with the loss of their lives, after SMITH came home : when, in spite of all that he had done, the Colony went to rack and ruin, all through that terrible winter of 1609-10, known as *The Starving Time*.

If SMITH had died, or left, earlier than he did ; the James river Settlement must have succumbed : for manifestly he was the life and energy of the whole Plantation. If the Third Supply, on their arrival there, in August 1609 [pp. xcvi, xcviij] had found an abandoned, or a destroyed Colony : that they alone could not have succeeded, where SMITH would have failed, is quite evident from the fact that they *did* all but perish through *The Starving Time*, in spite of all the following resources, which he left ready to their hands, at his going home, after he had been accidentally blown up by gunpowder, on the 4th of October 1609.

Leaving vs thus with three ships, seaven boats, commodities readie to trade, the harvest newly gathered, ten weeks provision in the store, foure hundred nintie and od persons, twentie-foure Peeces of Ordnance, three hundred Muskets Snaphances and Firelockes ; Shot Powder and Match sufficient ; Curats Pikes Swords and Morrio[n]s, more then men ; the Salvages, their language, and habitations well knowne to an hundred well trayned and expert Souldiers ; Nets for fishing ; Tooles of all sorts to worke ; apparell to supply our wants ; six Mares and a Horse ; fife or sixe hundred Swine ; as many Hennes and Chickens ; some Goats ; some sheepe. What was brought or bred there, remained.

Besides Iames towne that was strongly Pallizadoed, containing some fiftie or sixtie houses, he let fife or sixe other severall Forts and Plantations : though they were not so sumptuous as our successors expected, they were better then they provided any for vs. All this timz

we had but one Carpenter in the Countrey, and threc others that could doe little, but desired to be learners ; two Blacksmiths ; two saylers ; and those we write Labourers were for most part Footmen, and such as they that were Adventurers brought to attend them, or such as they could perswade to goe with them, that neuer did know what a dayes worke was : except the Dutch-men and Poles, and some dozen other. For all the rest were poore Gentlemen, Trad[e]smen, Serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoyle a Common-wealth, then either begin one, or but helpe to maintaine one. For when neither the feare of God, nor the law, nor shame, nor displeasure of their friends could rule them here [in England], there is small hope ever to bring one in twentie of them ever to be good there [in Virginia]. Notwithstanding, I confesse divers amongst them, had better mindes and grew much more industrious then was expected : yet ten good workemen would haue done more substantiall worke in a day, then ten of them in a weeke. Therefore men may rather wonder how we could doe so much, then vse vs so badly because we did no more, but leaue those examples to make others beware ; and the fruits of all, we know not for whom. pp. 486-7.

If, then, this James river Colony had failed before August 1609, when the Third Supply arrived ; the Colony at Bermuda would never have been attempted : and the Pilgrim Fathers would not have gone to New England ; but, if anywhere, to Guiana, to perish among its forests and swamps. So that, for about a couple of years, all the glorious possibilities that are still wrapped up in the words, *United States of America*, hung, as on a slight thread, upon the hardened strength and powers of endurance, the self-forgetfulness and public spirit of this enthusiastic young English Captain. He has therein given us a noble example, not to flinch from duty or sacrifice ; for we never know the great results that may come through our doing the one, or making the other.

It need hardly be said that this Colonizing section of our English Literature has been a life study to such authorities as HENRY STEVENS, CHARLES DEANE, JUSTIN WINDSOR, R. A. BROCK, the Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, and many an other American Scholar now living ; who have probably forgotten more of this

subject than we ever knew. Still it is a gain to have the entire *Works* of Captain SMITH made accessible in one volume for ever. All that can be hoped is, that the entire amount of information here given may be found substantially accurate, so far as it goes. It by no means exhausts the subject. The History of the English Colonies in the New World has yet to be written ; in the meanwhile, this Volume may be regarded as a Grammar thereof.

At last, then, the reader possesses all the Writings of Captain JOHN SMITH, with all the repetitions, &c. ; which were inevitable, because the earlier books went so soon out of print, and our Author felt himself bound to keep the facts constantly before the public.

For some portions of the Story, there are three Versions ; for other portions, two : a minute study of these successive accounts will shew additions and omissions of facts, but no material contradictions. As an example of this, one would think there *could not* be much variation in the two Versions, at pp. 221, 734, of the same *Deposition* by DANIEL BAKER, SMITH's Steward, as to his Captain's abandonment in 1615, by his ship's officers and crew, among the French pirates ; and yet there is variation, but no contradiction. In the same way, SMITH's later account of those three months' imprisonment on board the French pirate ship, at p. 736, contains a number of facts not to be found in the earlier one at p. 224. Once we are assured of the integrity and unboastfulness of the Writer (and of that, there can be no doubt as regards SMITH), these differences are so much gain to posterity, as affording us additional details for the filling up of the picture.

Another point to be observed, is that the periods of time given, are to be taken popularly, e.g., broken weeks at the beginning or end of a period are counted as whole weeks. Sometimes, also, it is evident that by mere failure of memory after the lapse of years full of incessant work, periods of time are roughly and inaccurately given : as the "six weeks" of his capture by OPECHANCANOUGH, when it could not, as will be seen at p. 531, have exceeded three weeks ; though it might have seemed a much longer period to one who was looking for his death at every

moment. We have endeavoured, wherever possible, to insert precise dates in the Text between square brackets [].

The large number of cross-references will help to make the Text self-interpreting: yet it has not been possible to make these cross-references so complete as we should have liked.

For fully one-third of the Text, Captain SMITH is not directly responsible: he is therein but abridging and editing the Relations of others, making running observations on the same, from time to time. In order to assist the reader, therefore, the name of the author and the approximate date of publication or writing of the matter on each page, will be found in its headline, as on *p. 334, J. Brierton Oct 1602*]. And also, inasmuch as the Text goes backward and forward in time, a catch date like [1608], [1621], has been put at the top of each side column, to shew the date of the history on that particular page. Furthermore, references like [18], [184], [201], have been inserted in the Text itself, to the pagination of the original editions (where there has been any), shewing where such original pages begin.

Bibliographical and other information will be found on the reverse of each of the nine original Title pages: and the *General History* being of itself so bulky, seven sectional Title pages have been inserted, one before each of its Six Books, and the seventh at *p. 489*.

In this way, it is hoped that this bulky Text, with its multitudinous detail, will have been made thoroughly accessible. It is too much, however, to expect that, despite the care that has been lavished on it, the reprint is quite free from errors; any intimation of which will be gratefully received.

In the following *Introduction*, our purpose is to give a number of somewhat disjointed observations and hints towards a better understanding and appreciation by the English reader, of the Text that follows. American scholars, like those we have mentioned, with all their fulness of local knowledge, could do this to much better advantage. The subject matter itself, however, possesses an endless fascination. Inadequately as it is here of necessity treated, it is nevertheless a Story of bravery and cowardice, of

prudence and folly, of misery and thankfulness, of pathos and suffering, fit for any Poet. Man is seen struggling, and often struggling in vain, among the great forces of Nature; which were then, many a time, a terror to the human spirit. In this Age of Science, Nature has been robbed of much of her horror, and is becoming more and more the Slave of the Lamp for the service and help of Man. This difference of outlook should never be forgotten by the reader.

There now remains but the pleasant duty of returning grateful thanks. First and chiefest, to HENRY STEVENS, Esq., F.S.A., of Vermont, now of London, and to his son, H. N. STEVENS, Esq.; not only for the loan of original editions, but also for help and guidance in the reproduction of the six Plates or Maps, which but for these gentlemen had not been done. If Mr. HENRY STEVENS would only print all he knows on the subjects of this Volume, the World would be a great gainer. To HENRY BRADSHAW, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Librarian to the University of Cambridge, for the loan of the very rare original of the *True Travels* Plate facing p. 820; and for other help. To CHARLES DEANE, Esq., of Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., for a photograph of the extremely rare page reprinted at p. 232, and for much bibliographical help on a subject that he knows so well that he has it all at his fingers' ends. To JUSTIN WINDSOR, Esq., the eminent Librarian of Harvard College, Mass., U.S.A., for the various *States* of the SMITH's *New England* Map. To G. E. COKAYNE, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Norroy King of Arms, for the inspection of Sir WILLIAM SEGAR's official registration of our Author's Coat of Arms, pp. 807, 842-43. To Mrs. HERBERT JONES, of Sculthorpe, Fakenham, Norfolk, for the history of the Gorleston painting of POCOHONTAS. To C. H. COOTE, Esq., of the Map Department of the British Museum, for much valuable topographical help. To Major JED. HOTCHKISS, Topographical Engineer, of Staunton, Va., U.S.A., for a copy of his, the best existing, Map of Virginia, dated 1874. To R. A. BROCK, Esq., of Richmond, Va., U.S.A., Corresponding Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, for important guidance and information.

With these helpers should be associated J. F. HUNNEWELL, Esq., of Charleston, Mass., U.S.A., the present possessor of the *Spelman Manuscript*, reprinted at pp. c1-cxiv.

In conclusion, the reader will please ever to remember that this book is rather a Biography than a History; and it will, we think, be found that Captain JOHN SMITH's life was but a realization of that nobleness of character, which he thus so well described in 1616.

Who can desire more content, that hath small meanes; or but only his merit to aduance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground hee hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he haue but the taste of virtue and magnanimitie, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant, then planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by Gods blessing and his owne industrie, without preuidice to any? If hee haue any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can hee doe lesse hurtfull to any, or more agreeable to God; then to seeke to conuert those poore Saluages to know Christ, and humanitie, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines? What so truely su[i]tes with honour and honestie, as the discouering things vniowne? erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vniust, teaching virtue; and gaine to our Native mother-countrre a kingdom to attend her: finde imployment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause Posteritie to remember thee; and remembryng thee, euer honour that remembrance with praise? pp. 208-9.

Then seeing we are not borne for our selues, but each to helpe other, and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth, and the minute of our death: Seeing our good deeds, or our badde, by faith in Christs merits, is all we haue to carrie our soules to heauen, or hell: Seeing honour is our liues ambition; and our ambition after death, to haue an honourable memorie of our life: and seeing by noe meanes wee would bee abated of the dignities and glories of our Predecessors; let vs imitate their vertues to bee worthily their successors. p. 229.

May Almighty GOD, of His mercy, make us all, in our day, as worthy in character, as skilful in action, and as eloquent with the pen, as was Captain JOHN SMITH of Willoughby.

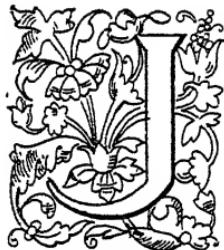
*Edgbaston, Birmingham,
10 June, 1884.*

E D W A R D A R B E R .

INTRODUCTION.

A. EARLY LIFE. 1593-1604 A.D.

Vincere est vivere. Accordamus.



JOHN SMITH "descended of ye Family of *Cuardly* in Lancashire" is the record of Sir WILLIAM SEGAR, Garter King of Arms, in 1625, see p. xxiv.

As our Author never went to any University, the most reliable information respecting his family will be found in his father's Will, and the entries in the parish registry of Willoughby *juxta Alford*, in Lincolnshire.

Mr. JOHN SWAN, the present District Registrar of the Probate Court, at Lincoln, states there are no Wills in his charge, of any SMITH at Willoughby in 1592 or 1593; and has obligingly furnished the following copy of GEORGE SMITH's Will of 1596.

In the Name of God, Amen. In the thyrthyth day of Marche
a thowsande five hundredreth ninety six I George Smith of
Willoughbie juxta Alford on *Marisco* in the Countie of *Lincolne*
beinge of good and perfect memorie I thanke God for itt
thoughe in bodie weake and paynde doe ordeyne and make
this my last Will and Testamentt in maner and forme follow-
inge Fyrst I bequeathe my Soule into the mercifull hands of
th[e]almightie God in the mediation of *Jesus Chryst* myne
alone and all sufficient saviour, and my bodie to be buried
within *Willoughbie* Churche

Item I give to *Lincoln* Minster vjd.

Item to ye poore of ye foresaide *Willoughbie* iijs. iiijd.

Item I give to ye Right Honorable my Lord *Willoughbie* under
whome I have many yeares lived as his poore tennant as a
token of my dewtifull good will the best of my two yeaeres old
colts

Item I geve and bequeathe unto *Alice* my Wyfe ye ferme which I
now dwell in which I houlde by coppie of Court rowle as ye
grant of ye Right Honorable my foresaide good Lorde duringe
her widdow hoode accordinge to ye custome of his Lordshippe
manner of *Willoughbie*; and if it shall please God that my saide
Wyfe doe marry agayne and take a second husband, then my
Will is that my saide ferme shall come to *John Smyth* my
eldest sonne whome I chardge and command to honoure and
love my foresaide good Lord *Willoughbie* duringe his lyfe

Item I geve to *Alice Smyth* my Wyfe tenne pounds of good and

These "Travels," SMITH dedicated to the Earls of PEMBROKE, LINDSEY, and DOVER : the second of whom, ROBERT BERTIE (who succeeded to the Barony of WILLOUGHBY D'ERESBY in 1601, and who was created on the 26th November 1626) Earl of LINDSEY, had, with his brother, twice met our Author during his wanderings abroad : viz., at Orleans, in 1596, p. 822; and at Siena, in 1601, p. 827.

We know enough of London society in the year 1629, and of the Episcopal censorship of the English press at that time, to be quite sure that no man would have dared to have offered to Sir ROBERT COTTON and those three Earls as *true travels*, a deliberately made up story of adventures which never happened. This alone is sufficient to shew that these *true travels* is an honestly written narrative of personal experiences.

2. That narrative however is fully corroborated by a number of incidental details and minute points, such as the following, occurring in his Works long before he has any thought of writing it.

In July 1608, SMITH exploring Chesapeake Bay in an open boat, named a headland, Point Poyer, pp. 110, 414, in memory of the great kindness of Earl PLOYER of Brittany to him, eight years before, p. 825. This name first appears in his *Map of Virginia* printed at Oxford in 1612.

In May—June 1614, he named the present Cape Anne in New England, Cape Tragbigzanda, pp. 204, &c., in memory of the kindness, if not the personal affection shewn him, while a Christian slave at Constantinople in 1603, by CHARATZA TRAGABIGZANDA, pp. 276, 853, 866 : whose brother, TIMOR the Pasha of Nalbrits, he afterwards, in pure self-defence, killed ; escaping away in his clothes and on his horse, across the steppes to the Russian outposts. At the same time in 1614, he named three islands, off Cape Anne the Thiee Turks Heads, p. 204, in memory of his famous passage of arms at Regal in Transylvania in 1602, p. 838. Both designations were first published in his *Description of New England*, in June 1616, long before he designed to print his travels.

The allusions to what he had seen in his travels in his earlier Works at pp. 56, 59, 62 come in naturally, are true as to fact, and could hardly have been invented.

In this connection may be considered our Author's general reticence about himself in the *Travels*. Evidently his personal adventures are rather understated than overstated therein. He was surely not idle on board the Breton ship, in that fight in 1601, in the Strait of Otranto, when she took the Venetian argosy, pp. 826–7 ; or in that other sea-fight in 1604, off Cape Bojador, when the English ship (in which, by stress of weather, he made an involuntary cruise), under the command of Captain MERHAM, whom he so delightedly calls "the old fox," fought two Spanish men-of-war at once, pp. 878–880 : yet of the personal help, which we are sure he gave on both these occasions, he says not a word. So generally, while he is proud of his strategy and devices, he tells us very little of his personal bravery in the various battles in Eastern Europe in which he took part : with the exception of the succession of duels that he fought at Regal in 1602 ; which he could hardly have left out, seeing he bore the three Turks' heads in his coat of arms.

3. Whatever difficulty there may be about that manuscript History or Biography of FRANCISCO FARNESE, p. 788, there is no doubt that Rev. S. PURCHAS had it, or a copy of it, in his hands about 1623, or 1624.

"... The Earle of Meldritch, with whom [Smith] going to Vienna in Austria, hee made him Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Souldiers, vnder whose

Regiments how he spent his time, this insuing Discourse will declare, as it is written in a Booke intituled, *The Warres of Transiluania, Walluchi[a], and Moldauia, written by Francisco Fernes a Learned Italian, Secretarie to Sigismundus Bathor the Prince,*" n. 1363-61, *Ed* 1625.

PURCHAS then gives what in the present Text forms the greater part of Chapters iv.-xi., at pp. 829-852, as "Extracts of Captaine Smith's Transylvanian Acts, out of Fr. Fer. his Storie :" which account SMITH says, at p. 852, PURCHAS himself translated, apparently from the Italian Señor Don PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS has seen a printed Spanish translation of this Italian history, rendered into Spanish by a MONTALVO : but the manuscript History itself is apparently lost. That it existed, and that a copy of it was in PURCHAS's hands there can be no doubt, as he thus distinctly refers to it at n. 1366, "as the Historie at large will plainly shew, the times, place, chiefe Commanders, with the maner and order of their battells, and fights ; to which I refer you." It is also to be noted that though Vol n. of PURCHAS's *Pilgrimes* is dated 1625, it was in hand two or three years ; so that this translation being made by him in 1623 or 1624, is fully five years earlier than SMITH's *True Travels*.

It may also be pointed out that SMITH, with his usual modesty, in giving this portion of his adventures, especially in the account of his fights with the three Turks, at pp. 829-852, mainly reprints PURCHAS's "Extracts" from FARNESE, i.e., he chiefly uses the words of another person, and that person a foreigner.

4. A third corroboration of the truth of the Travels will be found in the *Complimentary Verses*, first printed in his *Description of New England*, in June 1616, pp. 230-1. These Verses are written by two old Officers of his company of 250 men, one of the four making up the regiment of 1,000 horse, in which our Author served under the Earl of MELDRI, in Eastern Europe ; of which regiment, after the victorious combats at Regal, the Earl made SMITH, Major, or second in command, p. 840.

The writers of these Verses, were his Ensign, THOMAS CARLTON ; and his Sergeant, EDWARD ROBINSON . who were the only two Englishmen out of the twelve present, p. 852, who escaped alive from the battle of Rothenthurm (Rottenton) in Transylvania, on the 18th of November 1602 ; when SMITH was left sore wounded on the battle-field, only to become afterwards a Turkish slave. The testimony as to the Writers' personal knowledge and admiration of our Author contained in these Verses is precise and valuable.

5. Mr. J. G. PALFREY, in his famous note on the *True Travels*, in his History of *New England*, 1. 89, *Ed*. 1858, is simply laughable for his ignorance of the regulated conditions of publishing books in London during the lifetime of our Author. He states that "hack-writers abounded in London at the time. SMITH was just such a person [!], as, for the saleableness of his narratives, would naturally fall into their hands, and into the hands of their masters, the booksellers. . . . On the whole, the reader perhaps inclines to the opinion that JOHN SMITH was not the sole author of his books."

Mr. PALFREY errs in applying to the lifetime of our Author, the mendacities of the Grub-street era of GEORGE I. and II. Not only were there no "hack-writers," at that time, for books of colonization, &c. ; but SMITH manifestly wrote most of his books for nothing, and between 1616 and 1620 "divulged to my great labour, cost, and losse, more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps," p. 941. As a matter of fact, the *General History*, for which he issued a Prospectus signed by himself, in which he said, "nor shall the Stationers have the copy for nothing,"

p. cxxvi, did not sell well ; as is proved by the succession of fresh title pages in 1626, 1627, and 1632 to the same text. Mr. PALFREY's view of our Author is a degrading opinion of one of the most highminded of men, eminently possessing that keen sense of honour which was usual in an English Officer at that time ; and whose perspicuous honesty, had we space, could be demonstrated through every line of the present Text. Yet, in spite of his prejudice, in this same note, Mr. PALFREY is compelled to admit the substantial agreement of SMITH's account of his Eastern experiences with the known facts of history.

So far from the following Text having been written by anonymous hack-writers in SMITH's name, it will be seen that no one could have been more scrupulously careful than he was, in naming the authorities for everything he prints so that, as the headlines of the present edition will shew, we have hardly any difficulty in assigning the authorship and date of composition of every page in the Text. The only exceptions to this, are those bits of verse scattered throughout the *General History* which are intended to "point the moral" of the Story, and which we must attribute to SMITH's deep religious feeling, wide reading, and not very great poetical powers.

For our own part, beginning with doubtfulness and wariness, we have gradually come to the unhesitating conviction, not only of SMITH's truthfulness, but also that, in regard to all personal matters, he systematically understates rather than exaggerates anything he did.

Why New England writers should attack our Author (after the manner of Mr. E. D. NEILL, who says "his writings are those of a gascon and beggar," p. 211, *Hist. of Virginia Co., &c.*, 1869) is simply amazing : seeing that SMITH preferred New England, as a colony, to Virginia or any other part of the world, p. 193 ; that he tried so hard, for years, to go out and end his days there, pp. 205, 218, 732 ; and that he actually did effect more, by his advocacy and publications, towards its colonization, than ever he was able to accomplish for Virginia, with all his money, personal services, dangers, and magnanimity. Only Virginia was England's forlorn hope in colonization in JAMES I.'s reign, and was therefore generally the more perilous enterprise ; especially as James town was 32 miles inland, and the New England settlements were on the coast.

6. We have, by the kindness of G. E. COKAYNE, Esq., Norroy King of Arms, and H. F. BURKE, Esq., Rouge Croix, personally inspected, in April, 1884, in the official register of Sir WILLIAM SEGAR's *Grants of Arms*, at the Heralds College in London, the following record of the Arms granted to our Author, by SIGISMUNDUS BÁTORI.

To John Smith, descended of ye Family of Cuardly in Lanc. Captaine of 250 Soldiers vnder Henry Volda, Earl of Meldritch, &c. A Grant of these Arms in Memory of thre Turks heades which with his Sword before ye Town of Regal he did overcome, kill and cut off, in the Province of Transiluania. This granted in a Letter of safe conduct, by Sigismond Balthori, Duke of Transilvania, 9 Dec. 1603. p. 371 of a volume labelled *Segar's Grants*. E. D. N. 57.

There is also in the Heralds College, an unofficial copy (in VINCENT's *Collectanea*, 169, p. 131), of the Latin Patent and Certificate printed at pp. 842-3. It has, however, some variations from the text as given by SMITH, which we have noted in the margin.

Of the authenticity therefore of this Grant of Arms, and of the all-important corroboration that it affords to the *True Travels*, there is no doubt at all.

Therefore though they may offer not a few points which have yet to be cleared up, the general credibility of the *Travels* is beyond question; and in its clear, graphic and condensed style, the narrative is among the very best written English books of travel printed in SMITH's lifetime.

III.



UR Author's intineraries come next for consideration. Except in Eastern Europe, &c., they present but little difficulty. The names, where he wrote down phonetically, we have here placed in round brackets.

JOHN SMITH's earlier travels on the Continent.

1596-1600 A.D.; æt. 16-21.

1596	London.	p. 822.	1600	Shipwrecked at Holy Island or Lindisfarn.	p. 822.
	Orleans.			Northumberland.	
	Paris.			Leith (<i>Lethe</i>).	
	Rouen.			? (<i>Ripweth</i>).	p. 823.
	Havre.			? (<i>Broxmoth</i>).	
1596	A soldier in the French army.			Willoughby.	
1596-9	A soldier in the Dutch army.				
1600	Enkhuisen (<i>Anrusan</i>).				

JOHN SMITH's later Travels on the Continent, until his arrival at Vienna.

1600-1601 A.D.; æt. 21-22.

1600.	Tattershall.	p. 823.	1600.	Guingamp (<i>Gigan</i>). Rennes (<i>Raynes</i>).	p. 825.
	Holland.			Nantes.	
	St. Valery sur Somme.	p. 824.		Poitiers.	
	Dieppe.			Rochelle.	
	Caudebeck (<i>Codebeck</i>).			Bourdeaux.	
	Honfleur (<i>Humphla</i>).			Bayonne.	
	Pontaudemier (<i>Pountdemier</i>).			Lescar.	
	Caen.			Pau.	
	Mortagne.			Toulouse.	
	Pontorson (<i>Pounterson</i>).	p. 825.		Beziers (<i>Bezers</i>).	
	Dinan.			Carcassone.	
	St. Malo.			Narbonne.	
	Mont St. Michel.			Montpellier.	
	Lamballe.			Nismes.	
	St. Brieuc (<i>Simbreck</i>).			Avignon.	
	Lannion.			Arles.	
	Tonquedeck (<i>Tuncadeck</i>), the residence of the Earl of			Marseilles (<i>Marcellos</i>).	
	PLOUHA (<i>Poyer</i>).			Toulon.	

160c The Isle of St. Mary, near		16c1 Leghorn (<i>Lygorne</i>). Tuscany.	p. 827.
Nice.	p. 825.	Siena.	
Corsica.	p. 826.	Vitebo.	
Sardinia.		Rome.	
Cape Bon (<i>Bona</i>).		Civita Vechia.	p. 828.
Lampedusa (<i>Lampadosa</i>).		Naples.	
Cape Rosetta (<i>Rosata</i>).		Capua.	
Alexandria.		Rome.	
Scanderoon.		Siena.	
Cyprus.		Florence.	
Rhodes.		Bologna.	
The Archipelago.		Ferrara.	
Crete (<i>Candia</i>).		Mantua.	
Greece.		Padua.	
Zephalonia.		Venice.	
The Strait of Otranto		Malamocco.	
Calabria.	p. 827.	Raguza.	
Sicily.		Capo d'Istria.	
Sardinia.		Laybach (<i>Lubiano</i>).	
Corsica		Gratz (<i>Grates</i>).	
Antibes in Piedmont (<i>Antibo in Peanion</i>).		Vienna (<i>Vienne</i>)	

JOHN SMITH's *Itinerary in Eastern Europe, &c., until the battle of Rothenthurm Pass, in Transylvania, 18 November 1602.*
 1601-1602 A.D.; at. 22-23.

Here the names of places, as written by our Author, present some difficulties; inasmuch as many of the towns had, and still have, two or three names—one German, another Hungarian, and possibly a third Slavonic. however, many can be identified. We give the usual, which is often the German name, first; and the countries where they will now be found.

HUNGARY.

1601. Ober Limbach; in Hungarian, Felsö Landre. (<i>Olpmpagh</i>)	p. 829.
Stuhlweissenberg; in Latin Alba Regalis. (<i>Stowlwesenburg</i>)	p. 831.
Komorn. (<i>Comora</i>)	p. 832.
The plains of ? (<i>Girke</i>). [In Hungarian Zigetvar. (<i>Zigetun</i>)]	p. 833.
[Buda-Pesth. (<i>Buda</i>)]	p. 835
[Grosskirchen, in Hungarian Kanizsa. (<i>Caniza</i>)]	
[Gran. (<i>Strigonium</i>)]	

1601. [Komorn (*Komara*).] p. 835.

TRANSYLVANIA.	
1602.	? (<i>Land of Zarkam</i>) p. 837.
	? (<i>Regall</i>). p. 841.
	? (<i>Veratio</i>). p. 841.
	? (<i>Solmos</i>). p. 841.
	? (<i>Kupronka</i>). p. 841.
	Lisenburg, in Hungarian Vasvar. (<i>Escenburg</i>)
	[Temesvar. (<i>Temesware</i>)] p. 847.

WALLACHIA &c.

The river Aluta. (*Altus*). p. 847.

1602. Rimmik (<i>Rebrinke</i>). Retch (<i>Raza</i>). Arjish, on the river of the same name (<i>Argish</i>). p. 848. Pitesti (<i>Peteske</i>).	1602. Longenaw (<i>Langanaw</i>). p. 849. Rothenthurm, in Hun- garian Verres Torony (<i>Rottenton</i>). A Pass in Transylvania.
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JOHN SMITH's Itinerary in Turkey, Tartary, Russia, &c., till his return to Hermannstadt in Transylvania.

1602-1603 A.D.; at. 23-24.

TURKEY.

1602. Either Tchernavda or Rassowa on the Danube (<i>Axopolis</i>). Adrianople.	p. 853.
1603. Constantinople. ? (<i>Sander</i>). Serai (<i>Screwe</i>). ? (<i>Panassa</i>). ? (<i>Musa</i>). Lascillo (<i>Lastilla</i>). Vaina.	p. 854
The Black Sea. Cape (<i>Taur</i>). Cape (<i>Pergilos</i>). Strait of Kertch (<i>Niger</i>). Sea of Azov (<i>Dissabacca</i>). Sirxu (<i>Susax</i>). Tcherkrsh on the river Don ? (<i>Curuske</i>). ? (<i>Bruapo</i>).	

The Combra of MER-
CATOR (*Cambia*). p. 854.

The Nalbrits of MER- CATOR (<i>Nalbrits</i>). p. 855. (On the Don, <i>Acropolis</i>). p. 867.
? (<i>Zumalache</i>)
? (<i>Caragnaw</i>)
? (<i>Letch</i>)
? (<i>Donka in Cologske</i>)
? (<i>Berniske</i> } In <i>Seberia</i>)
? (<i>Newgrod</i> } In <i>Seberia</i>)
? (<i>Resecchia</i> on the <i>Niper</i>)
? (<i>Coroski</i> } p. 868.
? (<i>Duberesko</i> }
? (<i>Duzihell</i> } In <i>Volonia</i>)
? (<i>Drohobus</i> }
? (<i>Ostroge</i>)
? (<i>Saslaw</i> } In <i>Podolia</i>)
? (<i>Lasco</i> } In <i>Podolia</i>)
? (<i>Halico</i> } In <i>Polonia</i>)
? (<i>Colloniu</i> } In <i>Polonia</i>)
Hermannstadt (<i>Hermonstat</i>).

JOHN SMITH's return home from Transylvania.

1602-1604 A.D.; at. 23-25.

HUNGARY.

1603. Filleck (<i>Fileck</i>) Tokay (<i>Tocka</i>) Kaschaw (<i>Cassovia</i>) Arva (<i>Underoroway</i>)	In High Hungary.) p. 869.
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GERMANY.

Olmutz (<i>Ulmicht</i> in <i>Mora- via</i>). Prague.	p. 869.
1603. Dec. Leipsic in Lower Saxony (<i>Lipswicke</i> in <i>Misenland</i>). Dresden.	

1604. Magdeburg.

p. 869

Brunswick.
Cassell.
Wittemberg.
Ulm.
Munich.
Augsburg.
? (<i>Hama</i>).
Frankfort.
Mayence.
The Rhine Valley (<i>Palatinate</i>).
Worms.
Spires.
Strasburgh.

<i>FRANCE.</i>		
1604. Nancy.	<i>p.</i> 869.	
Paris.		
Orleans.		
Down the Loire.		
Angers.		
Nantes.		
<i>SPAIN.</i>		
Bilbao.		
Burgos.		
Valladolid.		
The Escorial.		
Madrid.		
Toledo.		
Cordova.		
Ciudad Real.		
Seville (<i>Civill</i>).		
Xeies (<i>Cheryes</i>).		
Cadiz (<i>Cales</i>).		
San Lucar de Barrameda (Saint Lucas).		
		<i>AFRICA.</i>
		Ceuta (<i>Guta</i>).
		Tangier (<i>Tanger</i>).
		Saffi (<i>Saffee</i>).
		Trip to the town of Marocco (107 miles inland from Saffi), and back.
		<i>SMITH'S INVOLUNTARY CRUISE.</i>
		Saffi. <i>p.</i> 878.
		The Canaries.
		Cape Bojador.
		Santa Cruz.
		Cape Ghir (<i>Goa</i>).
		Mogadore.
		Saffi.
		<i>HOME AT LAST.</i>
		England.

It will be seen that these Itineraries are perfectly consistent, that the Author is always moving forward.

PURCHASES thus gives us some more particulars as to SMITH's return home. "Then understanding that the Waries of *Mully Shah* and *Mully Sedan*, the two Brothers in *Barbarie* of *Fez* and *Moroco* (to which hee was animated by some friends) were concluded in peace, hee imbarked himselfe for *England* with one thousand Duckets in his Purse, which after with a great deale more hee employed, in searching more dangers in the West Indies, and the vnknowne parts of vnciuilized *America*." ii. 1370.

It would also seem that SMITH, after his return home, made a walking tour in Ireland.

WINGFIELD, in his recrimination, p. lxxxix, says of him:

It was proued to his face, that he begged in *Ireland* like a rogue, without a lycence.

Of course, this is a distortion. To a man who had tramped or ridden over nearly all Europe, a tour on foot in Ireland would be a small matter.

Not satisfied with all this adventure, our Author next turned his attention to the river Oyapok in South America.

In the yeare 1605. Captaine Ley, brother to that noble Knight Sir Oliver Ley, with divers others, planted himselfe in the River Weapoco, wherein I should have beeene a partie; but hee dyed, and there lyes buried: and the supply miscarriyng, the rest escaped as they could. p. 896.

From this it is clear, that as he had hitherto followed the Wars wherever he

found them ; so now, the times having changed to peace, he gave himself to Colonization : and that having missed going to South America, and Virginia being the next Attempt that offered, he went to Virginia. The James town Settlement did not convert him to the Colonizing Effort to which he henceforth gave his entire energies ; but was his second endeavour in that new life which was now opening to him

B. VIRGINIA. 1605-1612 A.D.

IV.

It is not a work for every one to plant a Colony ; but when a house is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it. This requireth all the best parts of Art, Judgement, Courage, Honesty, Constancy, Diligence, and Experience, to do but nearely well . and there is a great difference between Saying and Doing.

There was a little city, and few men within it ; and there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it. Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city , yet no man remembered that same poor man

J. SMITH, 1620, p. 244

Ecclesiastes ix. 14, 15

Mhen Captain SMITH went to Virginia, the most adventurous part of his life had passed away. He was often, while there, in most imminent danger ; but nothing that he faced or endured in America, came up in peril and dread, to that which he had already undergone in Eastern Europe and Tartary. By this time, he was a hardened soldier ; a wary, foreseeing, and energetic Officer : so that he already possessed more experience of savage and semi-savage life than any other man in the Virginia expedition of 1606-7. Indeed, in his exceeding wariness, he seems to have over-estimated the military skill of the Virginian Indians, by making those forts of which he thus writes in 1629.

The Forts Captaine *Smith* left a building, [are] so ruined, there is scarce mention where they were. p. 888.

Yet had he to find out for himself a way to manage the Virginian Indians, respecting which others wrote, in 1612.

Though the many miserable yet generous and worthy adventures he had long and oft indured as wel in some parts of *Africa* and *America*, as in the most partes of *Europe* and *Asia*, by land or sea, had taught him much : yet, in this case, he was againe to learne his Lecture by experience ; which with thus much a doe having obtained, it was his ill chance to end when hee had but onlie learned how to begin. pp. 159, 160.

In October 1622, he wrote himself—

For *Virginia*, I kept that country with 38, and had not to eate but what we had from the sauages. When I had ten men able to go abroad, our common wealth was very strong : with such a number I ranged that vnknown country 14 weekes ; I had but 18 to subdue them all, with which great army I stayed six weekes

before their greatest Kings habitations, till they had gathered together all the power they could; and yet the Dutch-men sent at a needlesse excessiue charge did helpe Powhatan how to betray me. Of their numbers we were vncertaine; but them two honorable Gentlemen (Captaine George Percie and Captaine Francis West, two of the *Phittiplaces*, and some other such noble gentlemen and resolute spirits bore their shares with me, and now liuing in *England*) did see me take this murdering *Opechankanough* now their great King by the long locke on his head; with my pistole at his breast, I led him among his greatest forces, and before we parted made him fill our Bark of twenty Tuns with corne. When their owne wants was such, I haue given them part againe in pittie, and others haue bought it againe to plant their fields.

For wronging a souldier but the value of a peny, I have caused Powhatan send his owne men to *James Towne* to receiue their punishment at my discretion. It is true in our greatest extremitie they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made *Pocahontas* the Kings daughter the meanes to deliuere me: and thereby taught me to know their trecheries to preserue the rest.

It was also my chance in single combat to take the King of *Paspalagh* prisoner: and by keeping him, forced his subiects to worke in chaines till I made all the country pay contribution; hauing little else whereon to liue.

Twise in this time I was their President, and none can say in all that time I had a man slaine: but for keeping them in that feare I was much blamed both there and here: yet I left 500 behind me that, through their confidence, in six monthes came most to confusion, as you may reade at large in the description of *Virginia* [pp. 170, 498].

When I went first to these desperate designes, it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to go; and procrastination caused more [to] run away then went. pp. 262-3.

And again:

I thinke it more strange they should taxe me before they haue tried as much as I haue both by land and sea, as well in *Asia* and *Africa*, as *Europe* and *America*, where my commanders were actors or spectators, they alwaies so freely rewarded me, I neuer needed to importunate, n[or] could I euer learne to beg: what there I got, I haue thus spent.

These sixteen yeares I haue spared neither paines nor money

according to my abilitie, first to procure his Maiesties Letters pattents, and a Company here to be the means to raise a company to go with me to *Virginia*, as is said : which beginning here and there cost me neare 5 yeares [1604-1609] worke, and more then 500 pounds of my owne estate, besides all the dangers, miseries, and incumbrances I endured gratis ; where I stayed till I left 500 better prouided than euer I was : from which blessed virgin (ere I returned) sprung the fortunate habitation of *Somer Iles*.

This Virgins sister, now called *New England*, an. 1616. at my humble suit by our most gracious Prince Charles, hath bin neare as chargeable to me and my friends : for all which I never got shilling, but it cost me many a pound, yet I thinke my selfe happie to see their prosperities. pp 266-7.

Once more, in 1624, he wrote :

Hauing spent some ffeue yeares [1604-1609], and more than ffeue hundred pounds in procuring the Letters Patents and setting forward, and neere as much more about *New England*, &c. Thus these nineteene yeares [1603-1624] I haue here and there not spared any thing according to my abilitie, nor the best aduise I could, to perswade how those strange miracles of misery might haue beene preuented, which lamentable experience plainly taught me of necessity must insue, but few would beleue me till now too deereley they haue paid for it. Wherefore hitherto I haue rather left all then vndertake impossibilities, or any more such costly taskes at such chargeable rates : for in neither of those two Countries haue I one foot of Land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my owne hands, nor euer any content or satisfaction at all. And though I see ordinarily those two Countries shared before me by them that neither haue them nor knowes them, but by my descriptions : Yet that doth not so much trouble me, as to heare and see those contentions and diuisions which will hazard if not ruine the prosperitie of *Virginia*, if present remedy bee not found, as they haue hindred many hundreds, who would haue beene there ere now, and makes them yet that are willing to stand in a demurre.

For the Books and Maps I haue made, I will thanke him that will shew me so much for so little recompence ; and beare with their errors till I haue done better. pp. 613-4.

For our Author's own account of his Virginian experiences, the reader should first carefully read his Report &c. to the Royal Commissioners in 1624, at pp. 610-620 ; and his final review of the whole matter in his *Advertisemens* of

1630, at pp. 927-931. He will then see things with SMITH's eyes, and from his standpoint.

In the second of these accounts, our Author speaks of "I with my party" in the James river Settlement. The Colony soon broke into two divisions, that headed by RATCLIFFE, MARTIN, and ARCHER; and that which followed SMITH.

As everything relating to that Settlement in the present Text, might (however true in itself) be antecedently prejudiced on the ground that it was an *ex parte* statement; the manifesto of a Party that did not perish, when the other side did in *The Starving Time* of 1609-10: we have printed in the following pages of this *Introduction* all the Eye-witness testimonies we could find, of the state of the Colony during the nearly thirty months our Author was there; he having arrived with the Expedition in Chesapeake Bay on the 26th April 1607, and left James town, after having been injured by gunpowder, for England on the 4th October 1609.

Here again the result is perfectly satisfactory. These Eye-witness Accounts supply us with a lot of new and most interesting information; and, above all, afford us a number of important dates on which to pivot the history of those thirty months.

Seeing therefore that all this illustrative material only brings out the general truthfulness of the Text at large; once more, from this fresh test, we accord to our Author a fresh measure of confidence. Undoubtedly, SMITH was the Saviour of the James river Settlement.

Before we give these most valuable contemporary documents, it may be well to touch upon the false charge of an imaginary mutiny, which nearly cost our Author his life while on the voyage out to Virginia.

It does not appear that SMITH actually did anything at all.

WINGFIELD states, p. lxxiii, that on 17 September 1607, he was fined by the Colony to pay £200 [=£800 now] to Captain SMITH, p. 389,

for that I had said hee did conceale an intended mutany.

Also—

Master Smyths quarrell, [with me, was] because his name was mencioned in the entended and confessed mutiny by Galthropp. p. xc.

STEPHEN GALTHORPE died on 15 Aug. 1607, see p. lxxi.

This accusation appears to have been made at Dominica, on the 24th Mar. 1607, p. lvii-lviii; and during the six days [28th Mar.-2 Apr. 1607] the Expedition stayed at Nevis, p. lix, our Author says:

Such factions here we had, as commonly attend such voyages, that a paire of gallowes was made; but Captaine Smith, for whom they were intended, could not be perswaded to use them: but not any one of the inventers but their lives by justice fell into his power to determine of at his pleasure; whom with much mercy he favoured, that most basely and unjustly would have betrayed him. p. 910.

The exact nature of the wild charge against SMITH will be seen at p. 388.

He however remained a prisoner until the Gentlemen in the Colony having on June 6, p. lii, put up a petition to the Council, he was sworn of the Council on the 10th June 1607, p. liv; or as he puts it at pp. 92, 388, he was imprisoned, [for nothing'] 13 weeks.

[*ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.*]

The London Virginia Company.

Instructions by way of advice, for the intended Voyage to Virginia.

In the Library of the Congress, at Washington, D.C., in two folio volumes, is a copy of the original Minutes of the London or Southern Virginia Company, between 1617 and the date of its dissolution 16 June 1624. In the same volume are copies of documents relating to an earlier period of the Colony; and among these, the following *Instructions*, which have been printed in a modernized form by Mr. E. D. NEILL at p. 8 of his *History of the London Virginia Company*, Albany, N.Y., 1869; from whence we have here given them.

Instructions given by way of advice by us whom it hath pleased the King's Majesty to appoint of the Counsel for the intended voyage to Virginia, to be observed by those Captains and company which are sent at this present to plant there.



S we doubt not but you will have especial care to observe the ordinances set down by the King's Majesty and delivered unto you under the Privy Seal; so for your better directions upon your first landing we have thought good to recommend unto your care these instructions and articles following.

[1606]

When it shall please God to send you on the coast of Virginia, you shall do your best endeavour to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river, making

[1606]

choice of such a one as runneth farthest into the land, and if you happen to discover divers portable rivers, and amongst them any one that hath two main branches, if the difference be not great, make choice of that which bendeth most toward the North-west for that way you shall soonest find the other sea.

When you have made choice of the river on which you mean to settle, be not hasty in landing your victuals and munitions; but first let Captain *Newport* discover how far that river may be found navigable, that you [may] make election of the strongest, most wholesome and fertile place; for if you make many removes, besides the loss of time, you shall greatly spoil your victuals and your casks, and with great pain transport it in small boats.

But if you choose your place so far up as a bark of fifty tuns will float, then you may lay all your provisions ashore with ease, and the better receive the trade of all the countries about you in the land; and such a place you may perchance find a hundred miles from the river's mouth, and the further up the better. For if you sit down near the entrance, except it be in some island that is strong by nature, an enemy that may approach you on even ground, may easily pull you out: and if he be driven to seek you a hundred miles [in] the land in boats, you shall from both sides of the river where it is narrowest, so beat them with your muskets as they shall never be able to prevail against you.

And to the end that you be not surprized as the French were in *Florida* by *Melindus*, and the *Spaniard* in the same place by the *French*, you shall do well to make this double provision. First, erect a little stoure at the mouth of the river that may lodge some ten men; with whom you shall leave a light boat, that when any fleet shall be in sight, they may come with speed to give you warning. Secondly, you must in no case suffer any of the native people of the country to inhabit between you and the sea coast; for you cannot carry yourselves so towards them, but they will grow discontented with your habitation, and be ready to guide and assist any nation that shall come to invade you: and if you neglect this, you neglect your safety.

[1606]

When you have discovered as far up the river as you mean to plant yourselves, and landed your victuals and munitions; to the end that every man may know know his charge, you shall do well to divide your six score men into three parts: whereof one party of them you may appoint to fortifie and build, of which your first work must be your storehouse for victuals; the other[s] you may employ in preparing your ground and sowing your corn and roots; the other ten of these forty you must leave as sentinel at the haven's mouth.

The other forty you may employ for two months in discovery of the river above you, and on the country about you; which charge Captain *Newport* and Captain *Gosnold* may undertake of these forty discoverers. When they do espie any high lands or hills, Captain *Gosnold* may take twenty of the company to cross over the lands, and carrying a half dozen pickaxes to try if they can find any minerals. The other twenty may go on by river, and pitch up boughs upon the bank's side, by which the other boats shall follow them by the same turnings. You may also take with them a wherry, such as is used here in the *Thames*; by which you may send back to the President for supply of munition or any other want, that you may not be driven to return for every small defect.

You must observe if you can, whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be more easy, and [it] is like enough, that out of the same lake you shall find some spring which run[s] the contrary way towards the East *India* Sea; for the great and famous rivers of *Volga*, *Tan[as]* and *Dwina* have three heads near joyn[e]d; and yet the one falleth into the *Caspian* Sea, the other into the *Euxine* Sea, and the third into the *Peloman* Sea.

In all your passages you must have great care not to offend the naturals, if you can eschew it; and employ some few of your company to trade with them for corn and all other lasting victuals if you [? they] have any: and this you must do before that they perceive you mean to plant among them; for not being sure how your own seed corn will prosper the first year, to avoid the

[1606] danger of famine, use and endeavour to store yourselves of the country corn.

Your discoverers that passes over land with hired guides, must look well to them that they slip not from them : and for more assurance, let them take a compass with them, and write down how far they go upon every point of the compass ; for that country having no way nor path, if that your guiders run from you in the great woods or desert, you shall hardly ever find a passage back.

And how weary soever your soldiers be, let them never trust the country people with the carriage of their weapons ; for if they run from you with your shott, which they only fear, they will easily kill them all with their arrows. And whensoever any of yours shoots before them, be sure they may be chosen out of your best marksmen ; for if they see your learners miss what they aim at, they will think the weapon not so terrible, and thereby will be bould to assault you.

Above all things, do not advertize the killing of any of your men, that the country people may know it ; if they perceive that they are but common men, and that with the loss of many of theirs they diminish any part of yours, they will make many adventures upon you. If the country be populous, you shall do well also, not to let them see or know of your sick men, if you have any ; which may also encourage them to many enterprizes.

You must take especial care that you choose a seat for habitation that shall not be over burthened with woods near your town : for all the men you have, shall not be able to cleanse twenty acres a year ; besides that it may serve for a covert for your enemies round about.

Neither must you plant in a low or moist place, because it will prove unhealthfull. You shall judge of the good air by the people ; for some part of that coast where the lands are low, have their people blear eyed, and with swollen bellies and legs : but if the naturals be strong and clean made, it is a true sign of a wholesome soil.

You must take order to draw up the pinnace that is left with you, under the fort : and [to] take her sails and anchors ashore, all but a small kedge to ride by ; least some ill-disposed persons slip away with her.

You must take care that your marriners that go for wages, do not marr your trade; for those that mind not to inhabite, for a little gain will debase the estimation of exchange, and hinder the trade for ever after: and therefore you shall not admit or suffer any person whatsoever, other than such as shall be appointed by the President and Counsel there, to buy any merchandizes or other things whatsoever.

[1606] It were necessary that all your carpenters and other such like workmen about building do first build your storehouse and those other rooms of publick and necessary use before any house be set up for any private person: and though the workman may belong to any private persons yet let them all work together first for the company and then for private men.

And seeing order is at the same price with confusion, it shall be adviseably done to set your houses even and by a line, that your streets may have a good breadth, and be carried square about your market place, and every street's end opening into it; that from thence, with a few field pieces, you may command every street throughout; which market place you may also fortify if you think it needfull.

You shall do well to send a perfect relation by Captaine Newport of all that is done, what height you are seated, how far into the land, what commodities you find, what soil, woods and their several kinds, and so of all other things else to advertise particularly; and to suffer no man to return but by passport from the President and Counsel, nor to write any letter of any thing that may discourage others.

Lastly and chiefly the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out.

ROBERT TINDALL,
Gunner to Prince HENRY.

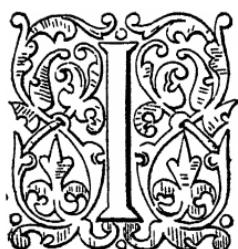
Letter to the Prince,

22 June 1607.

[*Hari MS. 7007. fol. 139; in the British Museum.*]

MIGHTIE PRINCE

[1607]



thought it no lesse than my duty beinge
imployed in this voyage of Virginie, In
all humble manner to make your
Princelye selfe acquainted with those
accidentes which hathe happenned to
vs in this our voyage. May it therefore
please your grace to accepte at the
handes of your most humble and duti-
full seruante a dearnall of our voyage and draughte of our
Riuier hearinclosed by vs discouered where neuer christian
before hathe beene, and also to let your grace vnderstande
wee are safelye arryued and planted in this Contreye by
the prouidence and mercye of God, which wee finde to be
in it selfe most fruitefull, of the whiche wee haue taken
a Reall and publicke possession in the name and to the
vse of your Royall father and our gratiouse kinge and
soueraigne: Thus ceasing for being too tedious and trouble-
some vnto your grace, I in all humble manour committ
your Princelye selfe to the protection of almighty God
whome on my knees I dayelye praye (as I am bounde)

A Gentleman of the Colony.

[? Captain G A B R I E L A R C H E R.]

A relayton of the Discovery, &c.

21^o May—22 June 1607.

This is one of the many Relations that were written at this time. It was seen by President WINGFIELD; who, the next year, 1608, refers to it; see p. lxxvi.

Out of the five Gentlemen of the Colony named on the opposite page, this narrative would seem to have been written by Captain GABRIEL ARCHER. The abridgement of the Hon. G. PERCY's Relation covering this period, we have at pp. lvii-lxxxiii.

The writer, whoever he was, took an important subordinate part in the expedition, discussing matters with the natives, &c. Speaking of the Chesapeake Indians, at p. xliv, he tells a Chief, on 23 May 1607,

That we had warres with them also, shewing hurtes scarce whole received by them,
evidently referring to the attack of the Chesapeake Indians on the 26 April previous, when Captain ARCHER was hurt in both his hands, p. lxii: and he was the only one then present, so hurt on that occasion. The way this sentence is written makes us think that ARCHER was speaking of his own wounds. If another person had been writing of him, he would have mentioned Captain ARCHER's name.

Another slight presumption as to the authorship, is that, in the list of Discoverers, he puts his own name before SMITH's; and also that the scrivener has written his name in larger letters than he has used in writing those of the three following Gentlemen.

[*State Papers, Colonial.* Vol I. (1574-1621), No 25.]

A relayton of the Discovery of our River, from *Iames Forte* into the Maine: made by Captaine Christofer Newport: and sincerely writen and observed by a gent: of ye Colony.

May 21.
1607.



Hursday the xxith of May, Captaine Newport (having fitted our shallop with provision and all necessaryes belonging to a discovery) tooke 5. gentlemen. 4. Maryners and. 14. Saylorours, with whome he proceeded with a perfect resolutyon not to returne, but either to finde ye head of this Ryver, the Laake mentyoned

by others heretofore, the Sea againe, the Mountaynes [1607]
Apalatsi, or some issue.

The names of the Dysco- } verers are thes } Captaine Christofer Newport.

George Percye esq.
Captaine Gabriell Archer
Captaine Ihon Smyth
Master Ihon Brookes
Master Thomas Wotton } [Gentlemen] } ffrauncys Nellson
John Collson
Robert Tyndall [pp. xxviii, xcvi]
Mathew ffytch } } Maryners.

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>Ionas Poole.</i> | 8. <i>Thomas Godword.</i> |
| 2. <i>Robert Markham.</i> | 9. <i>Robert Iackson.</i> |
| 3. <i>John Crookdeck.</i> | 10. <i>Charles Clarke.</i> |
| 4. <i>Olyver Browne.</i> | 11. <i>Stephen.</i> |
| 5. <i>Beniamyn White.</i> | 12. <i>Thomas Skynner.</i> |
| 6. <i>Rychard Genoway.</i> | 13. <i>Ieremy Deale.</i> |
| 7. <i>Thomas Turnbrydge.</i> | 14. <i>Danyell.</i> |

Thus from *James Fort* we tooke our leave about Noone, and by night we were vp the Ryver. 18. myle at a lowe meadow point, which I call *Wynaugh*. Here came the people, and entartayned vs with Daunces and much reioycing. This kyngdome *Wynaugh* is full of pearle muskles. The kyng of *Paspeiouh* and this king is at odds, as the *Paspeians* tould me, and Demonstrated by their hurtes: heere we anckored all night.

ffryday, omitting no tyme, we passed vp some. 16. myle May 22. further, where we founde an Ilet, on which were many Turkeys, and greate store of yonge byrdes like Black birdes, wherof wee tooke Dyvers, which wee brake our fast withall. Now spying. 8. salvages in a Canoa, we haled them by our worde of kyndnes; *Wingapoh*, and they came to vs. In conference by signes with them, one seemed to understand our intentyon, and offred with his foote to describe the river to vs: So I gaue him a pen and paper (shewing first ye vse) and he layd out the whole River from the *Chesseeian* bay to the end of it so farr as passadg[e] was for boats: he tolde vs of two Iletts in the Ryver we should passe by, meaning that one whereon we were, and

[pp. xlvi, lv]

[1607] then come to an overfall of water, beyond that of two kyngdomes which the Ryver Runes by, then a great Distance off[f], the Mountaines *Quiranh* as he named them: beyond which by his relation is that which we expected. This fellow parting from vs promised to procure vs wheate if we would stay a little before, and for that intent went back againe to provide it: but we coming by the place where he was, with many more very Desirous of our Company, stayd not, as being eare of our good tydinges. He notwithstanding with two wemen and another fellow of his owne consort, followed vs some sixe mile with basketes full of Dryed oysters, and mett vs at a point, where calling to vs, we went ashore and bartred with them for most of their victualls.

Here the shoare began to be full of greate Cobble stones, and higher land. The Ryver skantes of his breadth. 2. mile before we come to the Ilet mentyoned which I call *Turkey Ile*: yet keepes it a quarter of a mile broade most comonly, and Depe water for shipping. This fellow with the rest overtooke vs agayne vpon the Doubling of another point: Now they had gotten mulberyes, little sweete nuttes like Acorns (a verye good fruite), wheate, beanes and mulberyes sodd together and gave vs. Some of them Desired to be sett over the Ryver, which we dyd, and they parted.

Now we passed a Reach of. 3. mile $\frac{1}{2}$. in length, highe stony ground on *Popham syde*. 5. or. 6. fadome. 8. oares length from the shoare.

This Daye we went about. 38. mile and came to an Ankre at a place I call *poore Cottage*; where we went ashore, and were vsed kyndly by the people, wee sodd our kettle by ye water syde within nighte, and rested aboorde.

May 23.
[p. lxviii]

Satterday we passed a few short reaches; and. 5. mile of *poore Cottage* we went a shore. Heer we found our kinde Comrades againe, who had gyven notice all along as they came of vs: by which we were entertainyd with much Courtesye in every place. We found here a *Wiroans* (for so they call their kynges) who satt upon a matt of Reedes, with his people about him: He caused one to be layd for Captaine *Newport*, gave vs a Deare roasted; which

according to their Custome they seethed againe: His [1607] people gave vs mullberyes, sodd wheate and beanies, and he caused his weomen to make Cakes for vs. He gave our Captaine his Crowne which was of Deares hayre, Dyed redd. Certifying him of our intentyon vp the Ryver, he was willing to send guydes with us. This we found to be a kynge subiect to *Pawatah* the Cheife of all the kyngdomes) his name is *Arahatec*: the Country *Arahatecoh*.

Now as we satt merye banquetting with them, seeing their Daunces, and taking Tobacco, Newes came that the [pp. lxxvi, lxxxvi.] greate kyng *Pawatah* was come: at whose presence they all rose of[f] their mattes (saue the king *Arahatec*); separated themselves aparte in fashion of a Guard, and with a long shout they saluted him. Him wee saluted with silence sitting still on our mattes, our Captaine in the myddest; but presented (as before we Dyd to king *Arahatec*) gyftes of dyvers sortes, as penny knyves, sheeres, belles, beades, glasse toyes &c. more amply then before. Now this king appointed. 5. men to guyde us up the River, and sent Postes before to provyde us victuall.

I caused now our kynde Consort that described the [pp. xli, xlvii, lv.] River to vs, to draw it againe before kyng *Arahatec*, who in euery thing consented to his Draught, and it agreed with his first relatyon. This we found a faythfull fellow, he was one that was appointed guyde for us.

Thus parting from *Arahatecs* ioye, we found the people on either syde the Ryver stand in Clusters all along, still proferring vs victualls, which of some were accepted; as our guydes (that were with vs in the boate) pleased, and gaue them requitall.

So after we had passed some 10. myle, which (by the pleasure and ioye we tooke of our kinde interteynment, and for the Comfort of our happy and hopefull Discovery) we accompted scarce. 5. we came to the second Ilet Described in the Ryver; over against which on *Popham* syde is the habitatyon of the greate kyng *Pawatah*: which I call *Pawatahs Towre*; it is scituat upon a highe Hill by [pp. 163, 48x.] the water syde, a playne betweene it and the water. 12. score [yards] over, wheron he sowes his wheate, beane, peaze, tobacco, pompions, gourdes, Hempe, flaxe, &c. And were any Art vsed to the naturall state of this place,

[1607] it would be a goodly habitayton: Heere we were conducted vp the Hill to the kyng, with whome we found our kinde king *Arahatec*: Thes. 2. satt by themselves aparte from all the rest (saue one who satt by *Powatah*, and what he was I could not gesse but they told me he was no *Wiroans*): Many of his company satt on either side: and the mattes for vs were layde right over against the kynges. He caused his weomen to bring vs vittailes, mulberyes, strawberryes &c. but our best entartaynment was frendly wellcome.

In Discoursing with him, we founde that all the kyngdomes from the were frendes with him, and (to vse his owne worde) *Cheisc*, which is all one with him or vnder him. Also wee perceived the *Chessipian* to be an Enemye generally to all thes kyngdomes: vpon which I tooke occasion to signifie our Displeasure with them also: making it knowne that we refused to plant in their Country; that we had warres with them also, shewing hurtes scarce whole received by them, for which we vowed revenge, after their maner, pointing to the Sunne: ffurther we certifyed him that we were frendes with all his people and kyngdomes, neither had any of them offred us ill, or vsed vs vnkyndly. Hereupon he (very well understanding by the wordes and signes we made; the significatyon of our meaning) moved of his owne accord a leauge of fryndship with vs; which our Captaine kyndly imbraced; and for concluding therof, gaue him his gowne, put it on his back himselfe, and laying his hand on his breast saying *Wingapoh Chemuze* (the most kynde wordes of salutatyon that may be) he satt Downe.

Now the Day Drawing on, we made signe to be gone, wherwith he was contented; and sent. 6. men with vs: we also left a man with him, and Departed. But now rowing some. 3. myle in shold water we came to an overfall, impassable for boates any further. Here the water falles Downe through great mayne Rockes, from ledges of Rockes aboue. 2. fadome highe: in which fall it maketh Divers little Iletts, on which might be placed 100. water milnes for any vses. Our mayne Ryver ebbs and flowes. 4. foote even to ye skert of this Downfall. Shippes of. 200. or. 300. tonne may come to within. 5.

[*ibid.* lxiij. 5,
31. ox. 387,
896.]

myle hereof, and the rest Deepe inouge for Barges, or small vessels that Drawe not aboue. 6. foote water. Having viewed this place, betweene Content and greefe we left it for this night, determyning the next Day to fitt our selfe for a March by Land.

[1607]

So we roade all night betweene *Pawatahs Tower* and that Ilet I call wheron is. 6. or. 7. families. One of our Guydes which we had from *Arahatecs Ioy* whose name was *Nauiraus*, and now we found to be brother in Lawe to king *Arahatec*, desired to sleepe in the boate with vs: we permitted him, and vsed him with all the kyndnes we coulde: He proved a very trustye frend, as after is Declared. Now we sent for our Man to *Pawatah*, who coming told us of his entertaynment, how they had prepared mattes for him to lye on, gave him store of victualls, and made asmuch on him as coulde be/

Sonday, Whitsonday, our Captayne caused two peeces of porke to be sodd a shore with pease; to which he invyted king *Pawatah*: for *Arahatec* perswading himselfe we would come Downe the Ryver that night, went home before Dynner, for preparatyon against our Coming. But in presence of them both it fell out that we missing two bullet bagges which had shott and Dyvers trucking toyes in them: we Complayned to theis kynges, who instantly caused them all to be restored, not wanting any thing. Howbeit they had Devyded the shott and toyes to (at least) a Dozen severall persons; and those also in the Ilet over the water: One also having stollen a knyfe, brought it againe vpon his Comaunde before we supposed it lost, or had made any signe for it: So Captaine *Newport* gave thanckes to the kinges and rewarded the theeves with the same toyes they had stollen, but kept the bullets: yet he made knowne unto them the Custome of *England* to be Death for such offences.

May 24.

Now *Arahatec* departed, and it being Dynner tyme, king *Pawatah* with some of his people satt with vs, brought of his dyet, and we fedd familiarly, without sitting in his state as before; he eat very freshly of our meat, Dranck of our beere, Aquavite, and Sack. Dynner Done we entred into Discourse of the Ryver how far it might be

- [1607] to the head therof, where they gat their Copper, and their Iron, and how many dayes Iornye it was to *Monanacah Rahowacah* and the Mountaines *Quirank*: requesting him to have guydes with vs also in our intended March; for our Captaine Determyned to haue travelled two or. 3. dayes Iornye a foote vp the Ryver: but without gyving any answer to our Demaundes, he shewde he would meeke vs himselfe at the overfall and so we parted. This *Nauiraus* accompanied vs still in the boate. According to his promyse he [Pawatah] mett vs; where the fellow whome I haue called our kinde Consort, he that followed vs from *Turkey Ile*, at the Coming of *Pawatah* made signe to vs we must make a shoute, which we Dyd.

Now sitting vpon the banck by the overfall beholding the same, he began to tell vs of the tedyous travell we should haue if wee proceeded any further, that it was a Daye and a halfe Iorney to *Monanacah*, and if we went to *Quiranck*, we should get no vittailes and be tyred, and sought by all meanes to Disswade our Captayne from going any further: Also he tolde vs that the *Monanacah* was his Enmye, and that he came Downe at the fall of the leafe and invaded his Countrye.

Now what I conjecture of this I haue left to a further experience. But our Captayne out of his Discreyton (though we would faine have seene further, yea and himselfe as desirous also) Checkt his intentyon and returned to his boate; as holding it much better to please the king (with whome and all of his Comaund he had made so faire way) then to prosecute his owne fancye or satisfye our requestes: So vpon one of the little Iletts at the mouth of the falls he sett vp a Crosse with this inscription *Iacobus Rex. 1607.* and his owne name belowe: At the erecting hereof we prayed for our kyng and our owne prosperous succes in this his Actyon, and proclaymed him kyng, with a greate showte. The king *Pawatah* was now gone (and as we noted somewhat Distasted with our importunity of proceeding vp further) and all the Salvages likewise save *Nauiraus*, who seeing vs set vp a Crosse with such a shoute, began to admire; but our Captayne told him that the two Armes of the Crosse signified king *Pawatah* and himselfe, the fastening

of it in the myddest was their vntited Leaug, and the shoute the reverence he Dyd to *Pawatah*, which cheered *Nauiraus* not a little. [1607]

Also (which I have omytted) our Captayne before *Pawatah* Departed shewed him that if he would, he would gyve the *Wiroans* of *Monanacah* into his handes, and make him king of that Country, making signes to bring to his ayde. 500. men, which pleased the king muche, and vpon this (I noted) he told vs the tyme of the yere when his enemyes assaile him.

So farr as we could Discerne the River above the overfall, it was full of huge Rockes: About a myle of[f], it makes a pretty bigg Iland; It runnes up betweene highe Hilles which increase in height one aboue another so farr as wee sawe. Now our kynde Consortes relatyon sayth (which I dare well beleeve, in that I found not any one report false of the River so farr as we tryed, or that he tolde vs vntruth in any thing ells whatsoeuer) that after a Dayes iorney or more, this River Devydes it selfe intotwo branches, which both come from the mountaynes *Quirank*. Here he whispered with me that theer *caquassan* was gott in the bites of Rockes and betweene Clifffes in certayne vaynes. [pp. xli, xlii, lv.]

Having ended thus of force our Discovery, our Captayne intended to call of kyng *Pawatah*, and sending *Nauiraus* vp to him he came Downe to the water syde; where he went a shore single vnto him, presented him with a Hatchet, and staying but till *Nauiraus* had tolde (as we trewly perceived) the meaning of our setting vp the Crosse, which we found Dyd exceedingly reioyce him, he came a boorde, with the kyndest farewell that possible might be. Now at our putting off[f] the boate, *Nauiraus* willed vs to make a shout, which we Dyd two severall times, at which y^e king and his company weaved their skinnes about their heads answering our shout with gladnesina frendly fashion. [pp. lix, 7.]

This night (though late) we came to *Arahatec Ioy*, where we found the king ready to enterteyn vs, and had provided some victualls for vs, but he tolde vs he was very sick, and not able to sitt vp long with us, so we repaired aborde.

Monday he came to the water syde, and we went a May 25. shore to him agayne. He tolde vs that our hott Drynckes

[1607] he thought caused his greefe, but that he was well agayne, and we were very wellcome. He sent for another Deere which was roasted and after sodd for us (as before) Our Captayne caused his Dynner to be Dressed a shore also. Thus we satt banqueting all the forenoone. some of his people led vs to their houses, shewed vs the growing of their Corne and the maner of setting it, gave us Tobacco, wallnutes, mulberyes, strawberryes, and Respises. One [pp. 74, 369.] shewed us the herbe called in their tongue *wisacan*, which they say heales poysoned woundes, it is like lyverwort or bloudwort. One gaue me a Roote wherwith they poison their Arrowes. they would shew vs any thing we Demaunded, and laboured very much by signes to make vs vnderstand their Languadge.

Nauraus our guyde and this kings brother made a complaint to *Arahatec*, that one of his people prest into our boate to[o] vyoletly vpon a man of ours; which Captaine *Newport* (vnderstanding the pronenes of his owne men to such iniurys) misconstruing the matter, sent for his owne man, bound him to tree before King *Arahatec*, and with a Cudgell soundly beate him. the king perceiving the error, stopt vp and stayde our Captaynes hand And sytting still a while, he spyd his owne man that Dyd the iniurye: upon which he silently rose, and made towardes the fellow, he seeing him come, runn away, after ran the king, so swiftly as I assure my selfe he might gyve any of our Company. 6. score [yards] in. 12. with the king ran also Dyvers others, who all returning brought Cudgells and wandes in their hands all to be tewed, as if they had beaten him extreamly.

At Dynner our Captayne gaue the kyng a glasse and some Aquavitæ therin, shewing him the benefytt of the water, for which he thanckt him kindly: and taking our Leauue of him, he promised to meeet vs at a point not farr of: where he hath another house, which he performed withall, sending men into the woodes to kill a Dere for vs if they could. This place I call *mulbery shade*. He caused heere to be prepared for us *pegatewk-Apyan* which is bread [pp. lxi, 62] of their wheat made in Rolles and Cakes; this the weomen make, and are very clenly about it; we had parched meale, excellent good; sodd beanes, which eate as sweete as

filbert kernells in a maner, strawberryes and mulberyes new shaken of the tree dropping on our heads as we satt : He made ready a land turtle which we eate, and shewed that he was hartely reioyced in our Company. He was Desirous to haue a musket shott of[f], shewing first the maner of their owne skirmishes, which we perceive is [pp. 72, 367] violent Cruell and full of Celerity ; they vse a tree to Defend them in fight, and having shott an Enemy that he fall, they maull him with a short wodden sworde. Our Captayne caused a gentleman Discharge his peece Souldyer like before him, at which noyse he started, stopt his eares, and exprest much feare, so likewise all about him ; some of his people being in our boate leapt over boorde at the wonder hereof : but our course of kyndnes after, and letting him to witt that wee neuer vse this thunder but against our enemyes, yea and that we would assist him with thes to terrify and kill his Adversaryes, he rejoiced the more, and we found it bred a better affectyon in him towards vs ; so that by his signes we vnderstood he would or long be with us at our ffort. Captayne *Newport* bestowed on him a redd wa[i]stcote, which highly pleased him, and so Departed, gyving him also. 2. shotts as the boate went of[f].

This night we went some mile, and ankored at a place I Call *kynd womans care* which is mile from *Mulbery shade*. Here we came within night, yet was there ready for vs of bread new made, sodden wheate and beanies, mullberyes, and some fishe vndressed more then all we could eate. Moreover thes people seemed not to craue any thing in requitall, Howbeit our Captain voluntarily distributed guifts.

Tuesday we parted from *kynd womans care*, and by May. 26. Directyon of *Nauiraus* (who still accompanayed in the boate with vs) went a shore at a place I call *Queene Apumatecs bowre*. He caryed vs along through a plaine lowe grownd prepared for seede, part wheroft had ben lately Cropt : and assending a pretty Hill, we sawe the Queene of this Country comminge in selfe same fashion of state as *Pawatah* or *Arahatec* ; yea rather with more maiesty : she had an vsher before her who brought her to the matt prepared vnder a faire mulbery tree, where she satt her [pp. lxv, 7,
25, 400]

[1607] Downe by her selfe with a stayed Countenance. she would permitt none to stand or sitt neere her: she is a fatt lustie manly woman: she had much Copper about her neck, a Crownet of Copper upon her hed: she had long black haire, which hanged loose downe her back to her myddle, which only part was Covered with a Deares skyn, and ells all naked. She had her woemen attending on her adorned much like her selfe (save they wanted ye Copper). Here we had our accustomed Cates, Tobacco and wellcome. Our Captayne presented her with guyfts liberally, wherupon shee cheered somewhat her Countenance; and requested him to shoote o[f] a peece, wherat (we noted) she shewed not neere the like feare as *Arahatec* though he be a goodly man. She had much Corne in the grownd: she is subiect to *Pawatah* as the rest are; yet within herselfe of as greate authority as any of her neighbour *Wy[r]oances*. Captayne *Newport* stayd here some. 2. hours and Departed.

Now leaving her, *Nauiraus* Dyrected us to one of king *Pamaunches* howses some. 5. myle from the *Queenes Bower*.

Here we were entertayned with greate ioye and gladnes, the people falling to Daunce, the weomen to preparing vittales, some boyes were sent to Dive for muskles, they gaue vs Tobacco, and very kyndly saluted vs.

This kyng [*Opechancanough*] (sitting in maner of the rest) so set his Countenance stryving to be stately, as to our seeming he became foole. Wee gaue him many presentes, and certifyed him of our Iorney to ye falles our League with the greate kyng *Pawatah*, a most certayne frendship with *Arahatec* and kynde entertaynement of the Queene: that we were professed Enemyes to the *Chesepians*, and would assist kyng *Pawatah* against the *Monanacans*; with this he seemed to be much rejoyced: and he would haue had our Captayne staye with him all night, which he refused not, but single with the king walked aboue two flight shott, shewing therby his trew meaning without Distrust or feare. Howbeit, we followed a loofe of[fl], and coming up to a gallant Mulbery tree, we founde Divers preparing vittailes for vs: but the kyng seing our intentyon was to accompany our Captaine, he altered his purpose and weaved vs in kyndnes to our boate. This *Wyroans Pamaunche* I holde to inhabite a Rych land of

[1607]

Copper and pearle. His Country lyes into the land to another Ryver, which by relatyon and Descriptyon of the Salvages comes also comes also from the Mountaynes *Qurank*, but a shorter Iorney. The Copper he had, as also many of his people, was very flexible, I bowed a peece of the thicknes of a shilling rounde about my finger, as if it had ben lead: I found them nice in parting with any; They weare it in their eares, about their neckes in long lynckes, and in broade plates on their heades: So we made no greate enquiry of it, neither seemed Desirous to have it. The kyng had a Chaine of pearle about his neck thrice Double, the third parte of them as bygg as pease, which I could not valem lesse worth then. 3. or. 400. li had the pearle ben taken from the Muskle as it ought to be. His kyngdome is full of Deare (so also is moste of all the kyngdomes:) he hath (as the rest likewise) many ryche furres. This place I call *Pamaunches pallace*, howbeit by *Nauiraus* his wordes the kyng of *Winauk* is possessor hereof. The platt of grownd is bare without wood some. 100. acres, where are set beanies, wheate, peaze, Tobacco, Gourdes, pompons, and other thinges vnknowne to us in our tongue.

Now having left this kyng in kyndnes and frendship: we crossed over the water to a sharpe point, which is parte of *Winauk* on *Salisbury syde* (this I call *caveles point*). Here some of our men went a shore with *Nauiraus*, mett. 10. or. 12. Salvages, who offering them neither victualls nor Tobacco, they requitted their Courtesy with the like, and left them.

This night we came to point *Winauk* right against which we rested all night.

There was an olde man with King *Pamaunche* (which I omitted in place to specify) who wee understood to be. [¶ lxv.] 110. yere olde; for *Nauiraus* with being with vs in our boate had learned me so much of the Languadg[e], and was so excellently ingenious in signing out his meaning, that I could make him vnderstand me, and perceive him also wellny in any thing. But this knowledg[e] our Captaine gatt by taking a bough and singling of the leaues, let one drop after another, saying *caische* which [¶ 45, 58r.] is. 10. so first *Nauiraus* tooke. 11. beanies and tolde them to vs, pointing to this olde fellow, then 110. beanies; by

[1607] which he awnswered to our Demaund for. 10. yeares a beane, and also euery yere by it selfe. This was a lustye olde man, of a sterne Countenance, tall and stieight, had a thinne white beard, his armes overgrowne with white haires, and he went as strongly as any of the rest.

May 27. Wensday we went a shore at Point *Winauk*, where *Nauiraus* caused them to goe a fisshing for us, and they brought us in a shorte space good store: Thes seemed our good frindes but (the cause I knowe not) heere *Nauiraus* tooke some Conceyt, and though he shewed no discontent, yet would he by no meanes goe any further with vs, saying he would goe vp to kyng *Arahatek*, and then within some three dayes after he would see vs at our ffort. This greeved our Captayne very Deeply, for the loving kyndnes of this fellow was such as he trusted himselfe with vs out of his owne Country, intended to come to our fforte, and as wee came he would make frendship for vs, before he would lett vs goe a shore at any place, being (as it seemed) very carefull of our safety.

So our Captayne made all haste home, Determyning not to stay in any place as fearing some disastrous happ at our forte. Which fell out as we expected, thus.

After our Departure they seeldome frequented our ffort, but by one or two single now and then, practising vpon oportunity, now in our absence, perceiving there secure Caryadg[e] in the fort; and the xxvith of May being y^e Day before our retурne, there came aboue. 200. of them with their kyng and gave a very furious Assault to our fort, endaungering their overthrowe, had not the Shippes ordinance with their small shott daunted them: They came vp allmost into the ffort, shot through the tents, appeared in this Skirmishe (which indured hott about an hower) a very valiant people: they hurt vs. 11. men (wherof one Dyed after) and killed a Boy, yet perceived they not this Hurt in vs. We killed Dyvers of them, but one wee sawe them tugg off[f] on ther backes, and how many hurt we knowe not. A little after they made a huge noyse in the woodes, which our men surmised was at y^e burying of their slayne men. ffoure of the Counsell that stood

in front were hurt in mayntayning the fforde, and our president Master *Wynckfeld* (who shewed himselfe a valiant Gentleman) had one shott cleane through his bearde, yet escaped hurte. [1607]

Thus having ended our Discovery, which we hope may tend to the glory of God, his Maiestes Renowne, our Countryes profyt, our owne advauncing and fame to all posterity: we settled our selues to our owne safety, and began to fortifye; Captayne *Newport* worthely of his owne accord causing his Sea men to ayde vs in the best parte therof.

Thursday we laboured, pallozadoing our fort.

28.

Fryday the salvages gave on againe, but with more feare, not daring approche scarce within musket shott: they hurt not any of us, but finding one of our Dogges, they killed him: they shott aboue. 40. arrowes into, and about the forte.

29.

Satterday, we were quyet.

30.

Sunday they came lurking in the thickets and long grasse; and a Gentleman one *Eustace Clovell* vnarmed stragling without the ffort, shot. 6. Arrowes into him, wherwith he came runinge into the ffort, crying Arme Arme, thes stycking still: He lyved. 8. Dayes, and Dyed. The Salvages stayed not, but run away.

Monday some. 20. appeared, shott Dyvers Arrowes at Junel. randome which fell short of our ffort, and rann away.

Tuesday } quyet and wrought upon fortification, Clap-
Wensday } boord, and setting of Corne.

2.

3.

4.

Thursday by breake of Day. 3. of them had most adventurously stollen under our Bullwark and hidden themselves in the long grasse; spyeid a man of ours going out to doe naturall necessity, shott him in the head, and through the Clothes in two places but missed the skynne.

Fryday. quyet.

5.

Satterday there being among the Gentlemen and all the Company a murmur and grudg[e] against certayne preposterous proceedinges, and inconvenyent Courses, [they] put up a Petytion to the Counsell for reformatyon.

6.

Sonday. no accydent

7.

- [1607] Monday, Master *Clovell* Dyed that was shott with. 6.
8. Arrowes sticking in him. This afternoone. 2. salvages presented themselues vnarmed a farr of[f] Crying *Wingapoh*; there were also three more having bowe and arrowes: these we Conjectured came from some of those kinges with whom we had perfect league: but one of our Gentlemen garding in the woodes and having no Com-aundement to the contrary shott at them: at which (as their Custome is) they fell downe, and after run away: yet farther of[f] we heard them crye *Wingapoh* notwithstanding.
9. Tuesday in cutting downe a greate oke for Clapboord, there issued out of the hart of the tree the quantity of two barricoes of liquor, in taste as good as any vyneger, save a little smack it tooke of the oke.
10. Wensday the Counsell scanned the Gentlemans Petityon: Wherin Captayne *Newport* shewing himselfe no lesse Carefull of our Amitye and Combyned frendship, then became him in the deepe Desire he had of our good; vehemently with ardent affectyon wonne our hartes by his fervent perswasyon, to vuniformty of Consent, and Callmed that, out of our Loue to him, with ease, which I doubt without better satisfactyon had not contentedly ben carryed. Wee confirmed a faythfull loue one to another, and in our hartes subscribed an obeydence to our Superyours this Day. Captaine *Smyth* was this Day sworne one of the Counsell, who was elected in England.
11. Thursday, Articles and orders for Gentlemen and Soldyers were vpon the Court of Garde, and Content was in the Quarter.
12. Fryday, Cutting downe another tree, the like accident of vineger proceeded.
13. Satterday. 8. salvages lay close among the weedes and long grasse: and spying one or two of our Maryners Master *Ihon Cotson* and Master *Mathew ffitch* by themselves, shott *Mathew ffitch* in the somewhat dangerously, and so rann away this Morning. Our Admiralls [flag-ship's] men gatt a Sturgeon of. 7. foote long which Captayne *Newport* gaue vs.
14. Sondaye, two salvages presented themselves vnarmed, to whome our President and Captaine *Newport* went out. one of these was that fellow I call in my Relatyon of

Discovery our kinde Consort, being hee we mett at *Turkye Ile.* These certifyed vs who were our frendes, and who foes, saying that king *Pamaunke* kynge *Arahatec*, the kynge of *Youghtamong*, and the king of *Matapoll* would either assist vs or make vs peace with *Pasperiouk*, *Tapahanauk*, *Wynauck*, *Apamatecoh* and *Chescake*, our Contracted Enemyes: He counselled vs to Cutt Downe the long weedes rounde about our fforde, and to proceede in our sawing: Thus making signes to be with vs shortly agayne, they parted.

[1607]
pp. 14, 15.
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Monday, we wrought vpon Clapborde for *England*.

15.
16.

Tuesday, two salvages without from *Salsbury* syde being *Tapahanauks* Country, Captayne *Newport* went to them in the barge ymagining they had ben our Sonday frendes: but thes were *Tapahanauks* and cryed (treacherously) *Wingapoh*, saying their king was on the other syde of a point, where had our Barge gone it was so shold water as they might have effected their villanous plott: but our Admirall tolde them *Tapahanauk* was *matah* and *chirrah*, wherat laughing they went away.

17.
18.
19.
20.
21.

Wensdaye.)

Thursdaye.)

Frydaye.)

Satterdaye.)

Sondaye, we had a Communyon: Captaine *Newport* Dyned a shore with our Dyet, and invited many of us to Supper as a farewell /

[*Endorsed*]

Capten *Newports* relation of *Virginia*
Discovery.

[From this endorsement, it would seem that whoever wrote this "relatyon," it was the official one presented by NEWPORT on his return home.]

This *Relatyon* is followed by

The Discription of the now discovered River and Country
of *Virginia*; with the liklyhood of ensuing ritches, by
Englands ayd and industry. /

A Breif discription of the People. /

D U D L E Y C A R L E T O N .

L e t t e r t o J O H N C H A M B E R L A I N .

18 August 1607.

[Extract.]

[State Papers, Domestic James I. (1607) Vol 28, No. 34.]

[1607]



Aster Chamberlain, you may whilst you liue confess your obligation to Sir W. Cope, &c. And now you have all our domestike newes, for publike you shall vnderstand, that Captaine Newport is come from our late adventurers to *Virginia* hauing left them in an Island in the midst of a great river 120 mile into the land. They write much commendations of the aire and the soile and the commodities of it: but siluer and golde haue they none, and they can not yet be at peace with the inhabitants of the cuntrie. They haue fortified themselves and built a small towne which they call *James-towne*, and so they date theyr letters: but the towne me thincks hath no gracefull name, and besides the *Spaniards* who thinck it no small matter of moment how they stile theyr new populations will tell us I dowbt it comes too neere *Villaco*.

One Captaine Waiman a speciall favorit of Sir Walter Copes was taken the last weeke in a port in Kent shipping himself for *Spaine* with intent as is thought to have betraied his frends and shewed the *Spaniards* a meanes how to defeat this *Virginian* attempt. The great counsell of that State hath resolved of a dubble supplie to be sent thether with all diligence. The opinion is now generally that the Peace will be made in the low cuntryes.

Sir Richard Spencer saw not the king, etc.

from London this 18th of August. 1607.

Yours most assuredly

[Added below.]

D U D L E Y C A R L E T O N .

Master Porie tells me of a name giuen by a *Duchman* who wrote to him in Latin from the new towne in *Virginia*, *Jacobopolis*, and Master Warner hath a letter from Master George Percie who names theyr towne *James-fort*, which we like best of all the rest because it comes neere to *Chemes-ford*.

[Rev. S A M U E L P U R C H A S .]

Observations gathered out of
*A Discourse of the Plantation of
 the Southerne Colonie in Virginia
 by the English, 1606:*

Written by that Honorable Gentleman,
 Master G E O R G E P E R C Y.

[From the Rev. S. PURCHAS's *Pilgrimes*, iv. 1685-1690. Ed. 1625.
 It would be very desirable to find the manuscript, of the beginning
 of which PURCHAS has here given us a Summary.]



N Saturday the twentieth of December [1606-7] in the yeere 1606. the fleet fell [*i.e., down the Thames*] from *London*, and the fift of Ianuary we anchored in the *Downes*: but the winds continued contrarie so long, that we were forced to stay there some time; where wee suffered great stormes, but by the skilfulness of the Captaine wee suffered no great losse or danger.

The twelfth day of February [1607] at night, we saw a blazing Starre; and presently [came] a storme.

The three and twentieth day [of March 1607], we fell [in] with the Iland of *Maittanenio*, in the West Indies,

[These side-
notes are
chiefly by
the Rev S.
Purchas]

The next
day [24]
Mar. 1607

[1607]

Captaine
Smith was
suspected
for a sup-
posed
Mutine,
though
neuer no
such matter
Trade at
Dominica.

The foure and twentieth day [of March], we anchored at *Dominico*, within fourteene degrees of the Line: a very faire Iland, the Trees full of sweet and good smels; [and] inhabited by many Sauage Indians. They were at first very scrupulous to come aboord vs. Wee learned of them afterwards, that the *Spaniards* had giuen them a great ouerthiow on this Ile; but when they knew what we were, there came many to our ships with their Canoas; bringing vs many kindes of sundry fruites, as Pines, Potatoes, Plantons, Tobacco, and other fruits; and *Roane Cloth* [in] abundance, which they had gotten out of certaine *Spanish* ships that were cast away vpon that Iland. We gaue them Kniues, [and] Hatchets for exchange; which they esteeme much. Wee also gaue them Beades, [and] Copper Iewels which they hang through their nosthrils, ears, and lips, very strange to behold.

Their bodies are all painted red, to keepe away the biting of Muscetos [*mosquitoes*]. They goe all naked without couering. The haire of their head is a yard long, all of a length, pleated in three plats hanging downe to their wastes. They suffer no haire to grow on their faces. They cut [*tattoo*] their skinnes in diuers workes. They are continually in warres; and will eate their enemies when they kill them, or any stranger if they take them. They

Brutishnesse of the *Dominicans*. will lap vp mans spittle, whilst one spits in their mouthes, in a barbarous fashion like Dogges. These people and the rest of the Islands in the West Indies, and *Brasill*, are called by the names of *Cambals*, that will eate mans flesh. These people doe poyson their Arrow heads, which are made of a fishes bone. They worship the Deuill for their God, and haue no other beliefe.

Fight
between a
Whale, the
Thresher
and Sword-
fish

Whilst we remayned at this Iland, we saw a Whale chased by a Thresher and a Sword-fish. They fought for the space of two houres. We might see the Thresher with his flayle lay on the monstrous blowes which was strange to behold. In the end, these two fishes brought the Whale to her end.

Mari-a-
galanta.

Guadalupa.
Bath very
hot.

The sixe and twentieth day [of March, 1607], we had sight of *Mari[a]galanta*: and the next day [27 March], wee sailed with a slacke saile, alongst the Ile of *Guadalupa*; where we went ashore, and found a Bath which was

so hot that no man was able to stand long by it. Our Admirall [here designating the Chief in command, not the flagship], Captaine Newport, caused a piece of Porke to be put in it; which boyled it so, in the space of halfe an hour, as no fire could mend it. Then we went aboord, and sailed by many Ilands, as Mounserot [Montserrat] and an Iland called Saint Christopher; both vninhabited.

About two a clocke in the afternoone [28 March], wee anchored at the Ile of *Menis* [*i.e.*, Nevis]. There the Captaine landed all his men, being well fitted with Muskets and other conuenient Armes; [and] marched a mile into the Woods: being [*where they were*] commanded to stand vpon their guard, fearing the treacherie of the *Indians*; which is an ordinary vse amongst them, and all other Sauages on this Ile. We came to a Bath standing in a Valley betwixt two Hils, where wee bathed our selues; and found it to be of the nature of the Bathes [mineral springs] in *England*, some places hot and some colder: and men may refresh themselues as they please.

Finding this place to be so conuenient for our men to auoid diseases which will breed in so long a Voyage, wee incamped ourselues on this Ile sixe dayes [28 Mar.-2 April 1607], and spent none of our ships victuall, by reason our men, some went a hunting, some a fouling, and some a fishing: where we got great store of Conies, sundry kinds of fowles, and great plentie of fish. We kept Centinels and Courts *de gard* [Pickets] at euery Captaines quarter, fearing wee should be assaulted by the *Indians*, that were on the other side of the Iland. Wee saw [*met with*] none, nor were molested by any: but some few we saw as we were a hunting on the Iland. They would not come to vs by any meanes, but ranne swiftly through the Woods to the Mountaine tops, so we lost the sight of them: whereupon we made all the haste wee could to our quarter [*camp*], thinking there had beene a great ambush of *Indians* there abouts.

We past into the thickest of the Woods, where we had almost lost our selues. We had not gone aboue halfe a mile amongst the thicke, but we came into a most pleasant Garden: being a hundred paces square on euery side, hauing many Cotton-trees growing in it with abundance

Bath at
Menis.

910]

Commodi-
ties there.

[1607] of Cotton-wooll, and many *Guia cum* trees. Wee saw the goodliest tall trees growing so thicke about the Garden, as though they had been set by Art: which made vs maruell very much to see it.

April The third day [of April, 1607], wee set saile from *Meuis*.

The fourth day [April], we sailed along by *Castutia* [St. *Eustatius*] and by *Saba*.

Tortoises. This day [4 April 1607], we anchored at the Ile of *Vir gines*, in an excellent Bay able to harbour a hundred [1686] Ships. If this Bay stood in *England*, it would be a great profit and commoditie to the Land. On this Iland wee caught great store of Fresh-fish and abundance of Sea Tortoises, which serued all our Fleet three daies, which were in number eight score persons. We also killed great store of wilde Fowle. Wee cut the Barkes of certaine Trees which tasted much like Cinnamon, and very hot in the mouth. This Iland in some places hath very good ground, [and] straight and tall Timber. But the greatest discommoditie that wee haue seene on this Iland is that it hath no Fresh-water, which makes the place void of any Inhabitants.

Vpon the sixth day [of April], we set saile and passed by *Bccam* [*Bicque*], and by *Saint John de porto rico*.

*Meuis water
vnwholesome.* The seuenth day [of April], we arriuued at *Mona*: where wee watered: which we stood in great need of, seeing that our water [*obtained at Nevis*] did smell so vildly that none of our men was able to indure it.

Whilst some of the Saylers were a filling the Caskes with water, the Captaine and the rest of the Gentlemen, and other Soldiers, marched vp in the Ile sixe myles; thinking to find some other prouision to maintaine our victualling. As we marched, we killed two wild Bores; and saw a huge wild Bull, his hornes was an ell betweene the two tops. We also killed Guanas [*lizards*], in fashion of a Serpent, and speckled like a Toade vnder the belly.

*Ed Brookes
faint with
thirst.* These wayes that wee went, being [*were*] so troublesome and vilde, going vpon the sharpe Rockes, that many of our men fainted in the march: but, by good fortune, wee lost none but one *Edward Brookes* Gentleman; whose fat melted within him, by the great heate and drought of

the Countrey. We were not able to relieu him nor our selves; so he died in that great extreamitie. [1607]

The ninth day [of April], in the afternoone, we went off with our Boat, to the Ile of *Moneta*, some three leagues from *Mona*: where we had a terrible landing, and a troublesome getting vp to the top of the Mountaine or Ile; [it] being a high firme Rocke, ste[el]p, with many terrible sharpe stones. After wee got to the top of the Ile, we found it to bee a fertill and a plaine ground, full of goodly grasse, and abundance of Fowles of all kindes. They flew ouer our heads as thicke as drops of Ha[i]le. Besides they made such a noise, that wee were not able to heare one another speake. Furthermore, wee were not able to set our feet on the ground, but either on Fowles or Egges which lay so thicke in the grasse. Wee laded two Boats full in the space of three houres, to our great refreshing.

Moneta.

Store of fowles

The tenth day [of April], we set saile, and disimboged out of the West Indies; and bare oure course Northerly.

The fourteenth day, we passed the Tropicke of *Cancer*.

The one and twentieth day, about fие a clocke at night, there began a vehement tempest, which lasted all the night, with winds, raine, and thunders, in a terrible manner. Wee were forced to lie at Hull that night, because we thought wee had beene neerer land then wee were.

The next morning, being the two and twentieth day, wee sounded; and [also] the three and twentieth, and foure and twent[i]eth day: but we could find no ground.

The fие and twentieth day, we sounded, and had no ground at an hundred fathom.

The six and twentieth day of Aprill [1607], about foure a clocke in the morning, wee descried the Land of *Virginia*.

The same day, wee entred into the Bay of *Chesupioc* directly, without any let or hindrance.

There wee landed and discouered a little way: but wee could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meddowes and goodly tall Trees; with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost rauished at the first sight thereof.

We were driven to try [lie at Hull] that night [25th]; and by the storme, were forced: neere the shoare, not knowing where we were. They land in *Virginia*.

[1607]

App vlv, 5,
31, 91, 387,
395]

At night, when wee were going aboard, there came the Sauages creeping vpon all foure, from the Hills, like Beares; with their Bowes in their mouthes: [who] charged vs very desperately in the faces, [and] hurt Captaine *Gabri[c]ll Archer* in both his hands, and a sayler in two places of the body very dangerous[ly]. After they had spent their Arrowes, and felt the sharpnesse of our shot; they retired into the Woods with a great noise, and so left vs.

The seuen and twentieth day [*of April* 1607], we began to build vp our Shallop. The Gentlemen and Souldiers marched eight miles vp into that land. We could not see a Sauage in all that march. We came to a place where they had made a great fire, and had beeene newly a ro[a]sting Oysters. When they perceiued our comming, they fled away to the Mountaines, and left many of the Oysters in the fire. We eat some of the Oysters, which were very large and delicate in taste.

The eighteenth [*or rather 28th*] day [*of April*], we la[u]nched our Shallop. The Captaine and some Gentlemen went in her, and discouered vp the Bay.

We found a Riuier on the South side, running into the Maine [*up into the mainland*]: we entered it and found it very shoald water, not for any Boats to swim. Wee went further into the Bay, and saw a plaine plot of ground, where we went on Land; and found the place fwe mile in compasse, without either Bush or Tree. We saw nothing there but a Cannow, which was made out of the whole tree, which was fwe and fortie foot long by the Rule. Vpon this plot of ground, we got good store of Mussels and Oysters, which lay on the ground as thicke as stones. Wee opened some, and found in many of them Pearles.

Wee marched some three or foure miles further into the Woods, where we saw great smoakes of fire. Wee marched to those smoakes, and found that the Sauages had beeene there, burning downe the grasse; as wee thought either to make their plantation there, or else to giue signes to bring their forces together, and so to giue vs battell. We past through excellent ground full of Flowers of diuers kinds and colours, and as goodly trees as I haue

seen, as Cedar, Cipresse, and other kindes. Going a little further, we came into a little plat of ground full of fine and beautifull Strawberries, foure times bigger and better then ours in *England*. [1687] All this march, we could neither see Sauage nor Towne.

Straw-
berries.

When it grew to be towards night, we stood backe to our Ships, we sounded and found it shallow water for a great way, which put vs out of all hopes for getting any higher with our Ships, which road at the mouth of the Riuer. Wee rowed ouer to a point of Land, where wee found a channell; and sounded six, eight, ten, or twelue fathom: which put vs in good comfort. Therefore wee named that point of Land, Cape *Comfort*.

Point
Comfort.

The nine and twentieth day, we set vp a Crosse at *Chesupioc* Bay, and named that place Cape *Henry*.

Thirtieth day [of April, 1607], we came with our ships to Cape *Comfort*; where we saw fие Sauages running on the shoare.

Presently the Captaine caused the shallop to be manned; so rowing to the shoare, the Captaine called to them in signe of friendship: but they were at first very timbersome, vntil they saw the Captain lay his hand on his heart. Vpon that, they laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and came very boldly to vs; making signes to come a shoare to their Towne, which is called by the Sauages, *Kecoughtan*.

*Kecough-
tan.*

Wee coasted to their Towne, rowing ouer a Riuer running into the Maine, where these Sauages swam ouer with their Bowes and Arrowes in their mouthes.

When we came ouer to the other side, there was a many of other Sauages, which directed vs to their Towne, where we were entertained by them very kindly. When we came first a Land they made a dolefull noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nailes. We did thinke they had beene at their Idolatry. When they had ended their Ceremonies, they went into their houses and brought out mats and laid [them] vpon the ground: the chiefest of them sate all in a rank; the meanest sort brought vs such dainties as they had, and of their bread which they make of their Maiz[e] or Gennea wheat. They would not suffer vs to eat vnlesse we sate

[1607]
Tobacco.

down, which we did on a Mat right against them. After we were well satisfied, they gaue vs of their Tabacco, which they tooke in a pipe made artificially of earth as ours are, but far bigger, with the bowle fashioned together with a piece of fine copper.

Singing and
Dancing.

After they had feasted vs, they shewed vs, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion. One of the Sauages standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another; all the rest dancing about him, shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many Anticke tricks and faces, making noise like so many Wolues or Deuils. One thing of them I obserued; when they were in their dance, they kept stroke with their feet iust, one with another; but with their hands, heads, faces and bodies, euery one of them had a seuerall gesture: so they continued for the space of halfe an houre. When they had ended their dance, the Captaine gaue them Beades and other trifling Iewells.

They hang through their eares, Fowles legs. They shauie the right side of their heads with a shell, the left side they weare of an ell long, tied vp with an artificiall knot, with a many of Foules feathers sticking in it. They goe altogether naked, but their priuities are couered with Beasts skinnes beset commonly with little bones, or beasts teeth. Some paint their bodies blacke, some red, with artificiall knots of sundry liuely colours, very beautifull and pleasing to the eye, in a brauer fashion then they in the West Indies.

A long
oration.

The fourth day of May [1607], we came to the King or Werowance of *Pasphe* [*i.e.*, *Paspahegh*]: where they entertained vs with much welcome. An old Sauage made a long Oration, making a foule noise, vttering his speech with a vehement action; but we knew little what they meant.

Whilst we were in company with the *Paspikes*, the Werowance of *Rapahanna* came from the other side of the Riuer in his Canoa. He seemed to take displeasure of our being with the *Paspikes*. He would faine haue had vs come to his Towne, [but] the Captaine was vnwilling. Seeing that the day was so far spent, he returned backe to his ships for that night.

The next day, being the fift of May, the Werowance of [1607] *Rapahanna* sent a Messenger, to haue vs come to him. We entertained the said Messenger, and gaue him trifles which pleased him. Wee manned our shallop with Muskets and Targatiers sufficiently: [and] this said Messenger guided vs where our determination was to goe.

When wee landed, the Werowance of *Rapahanna* came downe to the water side with all his traire, as goodly men as any I haue seene of Sauages or Christians: the Werowance comming before them playing on a Flute made of a Reed, with a Crown of Deares haire coloured red, in fashion of a Rose fastened about his knot of haire, and a great Plate of Copper on the other side of his head; with two long Feathers in fashion of a paire of Hornes placed in the midst of his Crowne. His body was painted all with Crimson, with a Chaine of Beads about his necke; his face painted blew besprinkled with siluer Ore [A Flute made of a Reed] as wee thought; his eares all behung with Braslets of Pearle; and in either eare a Birds Claw through it, beset with fine Copper or Gold.

He entertained vs in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had beene a Prince of ciuill gouernment; holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behauour. He caused his Mat to be spred on the ground, where hee sate downe with a great Maiestie, taking a pipe of Tabacco: the rest of his company standing about him.

After he had rested a while, he rose, and made signes to vs to come to his Towne. He went formost, and all the rest of his people and our selues followed him vp a steepe Hill where his Palace was settled. Wee passed through the Woods in fine paths, hauing [that had] most pleasant Springs which issued from the Mountaines. Wee also went through the goodliest Corne fieldes that euer was seene in [1688] any Countrey. When wee came to *Rapahannos* Towne, hee entertained vs in good humanitie.

The eight day of May [1607], we discouered vp the Riuier. We landed in the Countrey of *Apanatica*. At our landing, there came many stout and able Sauages to resist vs, with their Bowes and Arrowes, in a most warlike manner; with their swords at their backes beset with

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25, 400]

[1607]

sharpe stones, and pieces of yron able to cleave a man in sunder.

Amongst the rest, one of the chiefest, standing before them cross-legged, with his Arrow readie in his Bow in one hand, and taking a Pipe of Tobacco in the other, with a bold vttering of his speech, demanded of vs, [of] our being there, willing vs to bee gone. Wee made signes of peace ; which they perceiued in the end, and let vs land in quietnesse.

*Archers
Hope.*

U v c 1

The twelfth day [*of May*], we went backe to our ships ; and discouered a point of Land, called *Archers Hope*, which was sufficient with a little labour to defend our selues against any Enemy. The soile was good and fruitfull, with excellent good Timber. There are also great store of Vines, in bignesse of a mans thigh, running vp to the tops of the Trees in great abundance. We also did see many Squirels, Conies, Black Birds with crimson wings, and diuers other Fowles and Birds of diuers and sundrie colours of crimson, Watchet, Yellow, Greene, Murry, and of diuers other hewes naturally without any art vsing. We found store of Turkie nests and many Egges. If it had not beene disliked because the ship could not ride neere the shoare, we had setled there to all the Collonies contentment.

The thirteenth day, we came to our seating place in *Paspīhas Countrey*, some eight miles from the point of Land [of] which I made mention before : where our shippes doe lie so neere the shoare that they are moored to the Trees in six fathom water.

*Their
Plantation
at Janus
Towne.*

The fourteenth day [*of May 1607*], we landed all our men ; which were set to worke about the fortification, and others some to watch and ward as it was conuenient.

The first night of our landing, about midnight, there came some Sauages sayling close to our quarter. Presently there was an alarum giuen ; vpon that, the Sauages ran away, and we [were] not troubled any more by them that night.

Not long after, there came two Sauages that seemed to be Commanders, brauely drest, with Crownes of coloured haire vpon their heads; which came as Messengers from the *Werowance* of *Paspīha*, telling vs that their *Werowance*

was comming, and would be merry with vs with a fat [1607]
Deare.

The eighteenth day, the *Werowance* of *Paspihae* came himselfe to our quarter, with one hundred Sauages armed, which garded him in a very warlike manner with Bowes and Arrowes; thinking at that time to execute their villany. *Paspihae* made great signes to vs to lay our Armes away: but we would not trust him so far. He seeing he could not haue conuenient time to worke his will, at length made signes that he would giue vs as much Land given.
land as we would desire to take.

As the Sauages were in a throng in the Fort, one of them stole a Hatchet from one of our company, which spied him doing the deed: whereupon he tooke it from him by force, and also strooke him ouer the arme. Presently another Sauage seeing that, came fiercely at our man, with a wooden sword, thinking to beat out his braines. The *Werowance* of *Paspiha* saw vs take to our Armes, [and] went suddenly away with all his company, in great anger.

These
Sauages
are natu-
rally great
theues.

The nineteenth day, my selfe and three or foure more walking into the Woods, by chance wee espied a pathway like to an *Irish* pace: wee were desirous to knowe whither it would bring vs. Wee traced along some foure miles, all the way as wee went, hauing the pleasantest Suckles, the ground all flowing ouer with faire flowers of sundry colours and kindes, as though it had beene in any Garden or Orchard in *England*. There be many Strawberries, and other fruits vnknowne. Wee saw the Woods full of Cedar and Cypresse trees, with other trees [out of] which issues our sweet Gummes like to Balsam. Wee kept on our way in this Paradise. At length, wee came to a Sauage Towne, where wee found but few people. They told vs the rest were gone a hunting with the *Werowance* of *Paspiha*. We stayed there a while, and had of them Strawberries and other things. In the meane time, one of the Sauages came running out of his house with a Bowe and Arrowes, and ranne mainly through the Woods. Then I beganne to mistrust some villanie, that he went to call some companie, and so betray vs. Wee made all haste away wee could. One of the Sauages

[1607]

brought vs on the way to the Wood side, where there was a Garden of Tobacco and other fruits and herbes. He gathered Tobacco, and distributed to euery one of vs ; [and] so wee departed.

The twentieth day, the *Werowance* of *Paspsha* sent fortie of his men with a Deere, to our quarter : but they came more in villanie than any loue they bare vs. They faine would haue layne in our Fort all night, but wee would not suffer them for feare of their treachery.

One of our Gentlemen hauing a Target which hee trusted in, thinking it would beare out a slight shot, hee set it vp against a tree, willing one of the Sauages to shoot : who tooke from his backe an Arrow of an elle long, drew it strongly in his Bowe, shoots the Target a foote thorow, or better : which was strange, being that a Pistoll could not pierce it. Wee seeing the force of his Bowe, afterwards set him vp a steele Target : he shot again, and burst his arrow all to pierces. He presently pulled out another Arrow, and bit it in his teeth, and seemed to bee in a great rage : so hee went away in great anger. Their Bowes are made of tough Hasell, their strings of Leather, their Arrowes of Canes or Hasell, headed with very sharpe stones, and are made artificially like [1689] a broad Arrow : other some of their Arrowes are headed with the ends of Deeres hornes, and are feathered very artificially.

Their
Arrowes.

[pp. 60, 35+]

Pashia was as good as his word ; for hee sent Vension, but the Sawse came within a few dayes after.

Yellow
haired
Vnguian
[p. viii]

At Port *Cotage* in our Voyage vp the Riuier, we saw a Sauage Boy about the age of ten yeeres, which had a head of haire of a perfect yellow, and a reasonable white skinne ; which is a Miracle amongst all Sauages.

River of
Pohutu.

This Riuier which wee haue discouered is one of the famousest Riuers that euer was found by any Christian. It ebbs and flowes a hundred and threescore miles, where ships of great burthen may harbour in safetie. Wheresoeuer we landed vpon this Riuier, wee saw the goodliest Woods as Beech, Oke, Cedar, Cypresse, Wal-nuts, Sassafras, and Vines in great abundance which hang in great clusters on many Trees, and other Trees

vnknowne ; and all the grounds bespred with many sweet
and delicate flowres of diuers colours and kindes. There
are also many fruites as Strawberries, Mulberries, Ras-
berries, and Fruites vnknowne. There are many branches
of this Riuier, which runne flowing through the Woods
with great plentie of fish of all kindes; as for Sturgeon, all
the World cannot be compared to it. In this Countrey I
haue seene many great and large Meadowes ^{*hauing ex-}
cellent good pasture for many Cattle. There is also great
store of Deere both Red and Fallow. There are Beares,
Foxes, Otters, Beuers, Muskats, and wild beasts vnknowne.

* Low
Maiishes.

The foure and twentieth day, wee set vp a Crosse at
the head of this Riuier, naming it *Kings Riuier*, where we
proclaimed *James* King of *England* to haue the most right
vnto it. When wee had finished and set vp our Crosse,
we shipt our men and made for *James* Fort.

[p. lvi, 71

By the way, wee came to *Pohatans* Towre, where the
Captaine [i.e., *Newport*] went on shore, suffering none to goe
with him. Hee presented the Commander of this place,
with a Hatchet; which hee tooke ioyfully, and was well
pleased.

Wee came
downe the
Riuier

[p. lvii]

But yet the Sauages murmured at our planting in the
Countrie, whereupon this *Werowance* made answeres againe
very wisely of a Sauage, Why should you bee offended with
them, as long as they hurt you not, nor take any thing
away by force. They take but a little waste ground, which
doth you nor any of vs any good.

I saw Bread made by their women, which doe all their
drugerie. The men takes their pleasure in hunting and
their warres, which they are in continually, one Kingdome
against another. The manner of baking of bread is thus.
After they pound their wheat into flowre, with hote water
they make it into paste, and worke it into round balls and
Cakes; then they put it into a pot of seething water:
when it is sod throughly, they lay it on a smooth stone,
there they harden it as well as in an Ouen.

Bread how
made

[p. lxviii]

There is notice to be taken to know married women
from Maids. The Maids you shall alwayes see the fore
part of their head and sides shauen close; the hinder part
very long, which they tie in a pleate hanging downe to

Distinct
habit of
Maids and
Wives.

[1607]

their hips. The married women weares their haire all of a length, and [it] is tied of that fashion that the Maids aie. The women kinde in this Countrey doth pounce and race their bodies, legges, thighes, armes and faces with a sharpe Iron, which makes a stampe in curious knots, and drawes the proportion of Fowles, Fish, or Beasts: then with paintings of sundry liuely colours, they rule it into the stampe whick will neuer be taken away, because it is dried into the flesh where it is se[a]red.

Savage 160
yeeres old.
¶ h 1

Bearded.

The Sauages beare their yeares well, for when wee were at *Panonkies*, wee saw a Sauage [who] by their report was aboue eight score yeeres of age. His eyes were sunke into his head, hauing neuer a tooth in his mouth. His haire [was] all gray with a reasonable bigge beard, which was as white as any snow. It is a Miracle to see a Sauage haue any haire on their faces. I neuer saw, read, nor heard, [of] any haue the like before. This Sauage was as lustie and went as fast as any of vs; which was strange to behold.

The fifteenth of Iune [1607], we had built and finished our Fort, which was triangle wise: hauing three Bulwarkes, [one] at euery corner, like a halfe Moone, and foure or fife pieces of Artillerie mounted in them; [thus] we had made our selues sufficiently strong for these Sauages. We had also sowne most of our Corne on two Mountaines. It sprang [*had sprung*] a mans height from the ground. This Countrey is a fruitfull soile, bearing many goodly and fruitfull Trees, as Mulberries, Cherries, Walnuts, Cedars, Cypresse, Sassafras, and Vines in great abundance.

Captaine
Newports
departure

Munday the two and twentieth of Iune [1607], in the morning, Captaine *Newport* in the Admirall departed from *James Port* for *England*.

Captaine *Newport* being gone from *England*, leauing vs (one hundred and foure persons) verie bare and scantie of victualls; furthermore, in warres and in danger of the Sauages. We hoped after a supply, which Captaine *Newport* promised within twentie weekes. But if the beginners of this action doe carefully further vs, the Country being so fruitfull, it would be as great a profit to

the Realme of *England*, as the *Indies* to the King of *Spaine*. If this Riuer which wee haue found had beene discouered in the time of warre with *Spaine*, it would haue beene a commoditie to our Realme, and a great annoyance to our enemies.

The seuen and twentieth of Iuly, the King of *Rapahanna* demanded a Canoa, which was restored. [He] lifted vp his hand to the Sunne (which they [1690] worship as their God), besides he laid his hand on his heart, that he would be our speciall friend. It is a generall rule of these people; when they swere by their God which is the Sunne, no Christian will keep their Oath better vpon this promise. These people haue a great reuerence to the Sunne aboue all other things: at the rising and the setting of the same, they sit downe lifting vp their hands and eyes to the Sunne, making a round Circle on the ground with dried Tobacco; then they began to pray, making many Deuillish gestures, with a Hellish noise, foming at the mouth, staring with their eyes, wagging their heads and hands in such a fashion and deformitie as it was monstrous to behold.

The sixth of August [1607], there died *John Asbie*, of the bloudie Flixie.

The ninth day, died *George Flowre*, of the swelling.

The tenth day, died *William Bruster* Gentleman, of a wound giuen by the Sauages, and was buried the eleuenth day.

The fourteenth day, *Ierome Alcock*, Ancient [i.e., *Ensign*], died of a wound. The same day, *Francis Midwinter* [died], [and] *Edward Moris Corporall* died suddenly.

The fifteenth day, their died *Edward Browne* and *Stephen Galhorpe*.

The sixteenth day, their died *Thomas Gower* Gentleman.

The seuenteenth day, their died *Thomas Mounslie*.

The eighteenth day, there died *Robert Pennington*, and *John Martine* Gentlemen.

The nineteenth day, died *Druc Piggase* Gentleman.

The two and twentieth day of August [1607], there died *Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold*, one of our Councell: he was honourably buried, hauing all the Ordnance in the Fort shot off, with many vollies of small shot.

The
Sauages
ise to
sacrifice to
the Sunne.

Death of
Captaine
Bartholo-
mew
Gosnold.

[1607]

After Captaine *Gosnol*[d]s death, the Councell could hardly agree by the dissention of Captaine *Kendall*; which [who] afterwards was committed about hainous matters which was proued against him.

The foure and twentieth day, died *Edward Harrington* and *George Walker*; and were buried the same day.

The sixe and twentieth day, died *Kenelme Throgmortine*.

The seuen and twentieth day, died *William Roods*.

The eight and twentieth day, died *Thomas Stoodie*, Cape Merchant.

The fourth day of September [1607], died *Thomas Jacob* Sergeant.

The fift day, there died *Beniamin Beast*.

Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases, as Swellings, Flixes, Burning Feuers, and by warres; and some departed suddenly: but for the most part, they died of meere famine.

Miserable
famine

There were neuer *Englishmen* left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discouered *Virginia*. Wee watched euery three nights, lying on the bare cold ground, what weather soeuer came; [and] warded all the next day: which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small Can of Barlie sod[den] in water, to fие men a day. Our drinke, cold water taken out of the Riuier; which was, at a floud, verie salt; at a low tide, full of slime and filth: which was the destruction of many of our men.

Thus we liued for the space of fие months [August 1607–8 Jan. 1608] in this miserable distresse, not hauing fие able men to man our Bulwarkes vpon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to haue put a terroure in the Sauages hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in euery corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pitifull murmurings and out-cries of our sick men without relief, euery night and day, for the space of sixe weekes [? 8 Aug.–19 Sept. 1607]: some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night; in the morning, their

bodies [being] trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges, to be buried. In this sort, did I see the mortalitie of diuers of our people. [1607]

It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortall enemies, to releue vs with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie; which was the setting vp of our feeble men: otherwise wee had all perished. Also we were frequented by diuers Kings in the Countrie, bringing vs store of prouision to our great comfort.

The eleventh day [of September, 1607], there was certaine ¶ lxix. Articles laid against Master Wingfield which was then President: thereupon he was not only displaced out of his President ship, but also from being of the Councell. Afterwards Captain John Ratcliffe was chosen President.

The eighteenth day [of September], died one Ellis Kinistone, which was starued [frozen] to death with cold. The same day at night, died one Richard Simmons.

The nineteenth day [of September], there died one Thomas Mouton.

William White (hauing liued with the Natiuies) reported to vs of their customes. In the morning, by breake of day, before they eate or drinke, both men, women, and children (that be aboue tenne yeares of age), runnes into the water; there washes themselues a good while till the Sunne riseth: then offer Sacrifice to it, strewing Tobacco on the water or Land, honouring the Sunne as their God. Likewise they doe at the setting of the *Sunne.

Gods
roodnesse

He was a
made man.

* The rest
is omitted,
being more
fully set
downe in
Captaine
South's
Relations.



A Discourse of virginia
per: Ed: Ma: wingfield.

This recrimination, which is simply invaluable as regards the early history of the James river Settlement, occupies pp. 382-396 of Vol. 250 of the Manuscripts at Lambeth Palace Library. It is written by a scrivener; and was intended to be signed by its Author, see next page.

[*pp. lxxxii, lxxxvi.*] WINGFIELD is herein most bitter against Captain ARCHER, who came home with him, in April 1608, in Captain NEWPORT's ship, pp. 105, 408. After ARCHER, he chiefly attacks RATCLIFFE. SMITH and MARTIN come in least for his complaints.

Most important for our present purpose, is the passage at *pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi*, which fixes the extreme dates of SMITH's absence from James town, on his Chickahominy expedition, when he first met POCOHONTAS, to be from the 10th Dec. 1607 to the morning of the 8th Jan. 1608.

[*pp. 9r, xxiii, xxvi.*] On the whole, it would seem that while this Apology for his Government of the Colony between the 13th May and the 10th September 1607, shews that Captain WINGFIELD did not prove himself equal to the occasion of that most trying time; yet it is clear that he was an English gentleman.

Right worshipfull and more worthy

[1608]

 Y due respect to your selves, my allegiance (if I may so terme it) to the Virginean action, my good heede to my poore reputation, thrust a penne into my handes; so iealous am I to bee missing to any of them; if it wandereth in extravagantes, yet shall they not bee idle to those Phisitions, whose loves have vndertaken the saftie and advancement of Virginia.

It is no small comfort that I speake before such gravitie, whose iudgement no forrunner can forestall with any opprobrious vntruth[s], whose wisedomes can easily disroabe malice out of her painted garments from the ever reverenced truth.

I did so faithfully betroth my best indeavours to this noble enterprize, as my carriage might endure no suspition: I never turned my face from daunger, or hidd my handes from labour, so watchfull a Sentinel stood my self to my self.

I know wel a troope of errors continually besiege

mens actions, some of them ceased on by malice, some by ignorance. I doo not hoodwinck my carriage in my self love, but freely and humble submit it to your grave censures.

I do freely and truely Anatomize the governement, and governours, that your experience may applie medicines accordinglie; and vpon the truth of this iournall do pledge my faith, and life, and so do rest

Yours to commaund in all service.

[No name, This Dedication was evidently intended to be signed by the Author.]

Here followeth what happined in James Towne, in virginia, after Captayne Newports departure for Engliund]



aptayne Newport haueing allwayes his eyes and eares open to the proceedinges of the Collonye, 3 or 4 dayes before his departure, asked the president how he thought himself settled in the gouernment: whose answere was, that no disturbance could indaunger him or the Collonye, but it must be wrought eyther by Captayne Gosnold, or Master Archer; for the one was strong with freindes and followers, and could if he would; and the other was troubled with an ambitious spirit, and would if he could.

The Captayne gave them both knowledg[e] of this, the Presidentes opinion; and mooued them, with many intreatyes, to be myndefull of their dutyes to his Majestie and the Collonye /

June, 1607.—The 22th, Captayne Newport retorne for England; for whose good passadge, and safe retorne wee made many prayers to our allmighty god /

June the 25th, an Indian came to vs from the great Poughwaton with the worde of peace; that he desired greatly our freindshipp; that the wyrountnes, Paspaheigh and Tapahanagh should be our freindes; that wee should sowe and reape in peace, or els he would make warrs vpon them

[1608]

[1607]

[1607] with vs. This message fell out true; for both those wyroances haue ever since remayned in peace and trade with vs. Wee rewarded the messenger, with many tryfles, which were great wonders to him./

This Powatan dwelleth ro myles from vs, vpon the River Pamaonche, which lyeth North from vs. The Powatan in the former iornall mencioned (a dwellar by Captain Newports ffulls) ys a wyroance, and vnder this great Powaton, which before wee knew not/

^{¶ viii 1}
^{Smith says}
^{at p 531,}
^{that he was}
^{'the first}
^{Christian'}
^{the real}
^{Powhatan}
^{ever saw,}
^{and that}
^{was so late}
^{as about 3}
^{Jan 1608.}
^{This is con-}
^{firmed by}
^{Wingfield}
^{at p lxxvi]}

July.—The 3 of July, 7 or 8 Indians presented the President a dear from Pamaonke, a wyrouance, desiring our friendshipp. They enquired after our shipping; which the President said was gon to Croatoon. They feare much our shippes; and therefore he would not haue them thinck it farr from us. Their wyrounce had a hatchet sent hym. They wear well Contented with trifles. A litle after this came a Dear to the President from the Great Powatan. He and his Messingers wear pleased with the like trifles. The President likewise bought diuers tymes dear of the Indyans; beavers, and other flesh; which he alwayes caused to be equally deuided among the Collonye/

About this tyme, diuers of our men fell sick. Wee myssed aboue fyfty before September did see us; amongst whom was the worthy and religious gentleman Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, vpon whose lief stood a great part of the good succes and fortune of our gouernment and Collony. In his sicknes tyme, the President did easily foretell his owne deposing from his Comaund; so much differed the President and the other Councillors in manning the government of the Collonye/

July.—The 7th of July, Tapahanah, a wyroance, dweller on Salisbery side, hayled vs with the word of peace. The President, with a Shallopp well manned, went to him. He found him sytting on the ground crossed legged, as is theire Custome, with one attending on him, which did often saie, "This is the wyroance Tapahanah;" which he did likewise confirme with stroaking his brest. He was well enough knowne; for the President had sene him diuerse tymes before. His Countynance was nothing cherefull; for wee had not seen him since he was in the feild against vs: but the President would take no knowledg[e] thereof,

and vsed him kindely; giving him a red wa[i]s[t] coat, which he did desire.

[1607]

Tapahanah did enquire after our shipping. He receyued answer as before. He said his ould store was spent, that his new was not at full groath by a foote ; that as soone as any was ripe, he would bring it ; which promise he truly performed.

The . . . of . . . Master *Kendall* was put of from being of the Counsell, and committed to prison ; for that it did manyfestly appeare he did practize to sowe discord betweene the President and Councell /

Sicknes had not now left us vj able men in our Towne. gods onely mercy did now watch and warde for us : but the President hidd this our weakenes carefully from the salvages ; neuer suffiing them, in all his tyme, to come into our Towne.

Septem.—The vjth of September, *Paspalheigh* sent vs a boy that was run from vs. This was the first assurance of his peace with vs ; besides wee found them no Canyballs.

The boye obserued the men and women to spend the most part of the night in singing or howling, and that eueriy morning the women carryed all the litle children to the rivers sides ; but what they did there, he did not knowe /

The rest of the wyraunces doe likewise send our men runnagates, to vs home againe, vsing them well during their being with them ; so as now, they being well rewarded at home at their retorne, they take litle ioye to trauell abroad without pasportes /

The Councell demanded some larger allowance for them selues, and for some sick their fauorites ; which the President would not yeeld vnto without their warrantes /

This matter was before propounded by Captain *Martyn*, but so nakedly as that he neyther knew the quantity of the stoare to be but for xij weekes and a half, under the Cap Merchaunts hand. He prayed them further to consider the long tyme before wee expected Captain *Newportes* retorne ; the incertainty of his retorne, if God did not fauour his voyage ; the long tyme before our haruest would be ripe ; and the doubtfull peace that wee had with the Indyans, which they would keepe no longer then opertunity served to doe vs mischeif /

[1607]

It was then therefore ordered, that euerie meale of fish or fleshe should excuse the allowance for poridg, both against the sick and hole.

The Councell, therfore, sitting againe vpon this proposition, instructed in the former reasons and order, did not thinke fit to breake the former order by enlarging their allowance, as will appeare by the most voyces ready to be shewed vnder their handes.

Now was the comon store of oyle, vinigar, sack, and aquavite all spent, saueing twoe Gallons of each: the sack reserued for the Comunion table, the rest for such extremityes as might fall upon us, which the President had onely made know[n]e to Captain *Gosnold*; of which course he liked well. The vessells wear therefore boonged vpp. When Master *Gosnold* was dead, the President did acquaint the rest of the Counsell with the said remnant: but, Lord, how they then longed for to supp vp that little remnant! for they had nowe emptied all their owne bottles, and all other that they could smell out /

A litle while after this, the Councell did againe fall vpon the President for some better allowance for them-selues, and some few the sick, their privates. The President protested he would not be partial, but if one had any thing of him, euerie man should haue his portion according to their places. Nevertheles that vpon their warrantes, he would deliuere what pleased them to demand. Yf the President had at that tyme enlarged the proportion according to their request, without doubt, in very short tyme, he had starued the whole Company. He would not ioyne with them therefore in such an ignorant murder without their own warrant /

The President well seeing to what end their ympacience would growe, desired them earnestly and often tymes to bestowe the Presidentshipp amoneg themselues; that he would obey, a private man, as well as they could comand. But they refused to discharge him of the place; sayeing they mought not doe it, for that hee did his Maiestie good service in yt /

In this meane tyme, the Indians did daily relieu vs with corne and fleshe, that, in three weekes, the President had reared vpp xx men able to worke; for, as his stoare

increased, he mended the comon pott: hee had laid vp
besides prouision for 3. weekes, wheate before-hand.

By this tyme, the Councell had fully plotted to depose
Wingfeld, the then President; and had drawne certeyne
Artycles in wrighting amongst themselues, and toke their
oathes vpon the Evangelistes to obserue them: th' effect
whereof was, first /

To depose the then President

To make Master *Ratcliff* the next President

Not to depose the one th' other

Not to take the deposed President into Councell againe

Not to take Master *Archer* into the Councell, or any
other, without the Consent of euery one of them. To theis
they had subscribed, as out of their owne mouthes, at
seuerall tymes, it was easily gathered /

Thus had they forsaken his Maiesties government sett
vs downe in the instruccions, and made it a Triumvirat /

It seemeth Master *Archer* was nothing acquainted with
theis *artycles*. Though all the rest crept out of his noates
and Comentaryes that were preferred against the President,
yet it pleased god to Cast him into the same disgrace and
pitt that he prepared for another, as will appeere hereafter.

Septem.—The 10 of September, Master *Ratcliff*, Master
Smyth, and Master *Martynn*, came to the Presidents Tennt
with a warrant, subscribed vnder their handes, to depose
the President; sayeing they thought him very unworthy
to be eyther President or of the Councell, and therefore
discharged him of bothe.

He answered them, that they had eased him of a great
deale of care and trouble; that, long since, hee had diuers
tymes profered them the place at an easier rate; and,
further, that the President ought to be remoued (as ap-
peareth in his Maiesty's instruccions for our government)
by the greater number of xij voyces, Councillors; that
they were but three, and therefore wished them to proceede
advisedly. But they told him, if they did him wrong, they
must answeare it. Then said the deposed President, "I
ame at your pleasure, dispose of me as you will, without
further garboile."

I will now wright what followeth in my owne name, and
giue the new President his title. I shall be the briefer

[1607] being thus discharged. I was comytted to a Serieant, and sent to the Pynnassee; but I was answered with, "If they did me wronge, they must answeare it /"

The 11th of September, I was sent for to come before the President, and Councell vpon their Court daie. They had now made Master *Archer*, Recorder of *Virginia*. The President made a speeche to the Collony, that he thought it fitt to acquaint them whie I was deposed. I ame now forced to stuff my Paper with frivilous trifles, that our graue and worthy Councell may the better strike those vaynes where the corrupt blood lyeth, and that they may see in what manner of government the hope of the Collony now travayleth /

Ffirst, Master President said that I had denyed him a penny whitle, a chickyn, a spoonfull of beere, and served him with foule corne; and with that pulled some graine out of a bagg, shewing it to the Company /

Then start vp Master *Smyth*, and said that I had told him playnly how he lied; and that I said, though wee were equall heere, yet, if he were in *England*, he would think scorne his man [*i.e., serving man*] should be my companyon /

[pp 107, 411.] Master *Martyn* followed with, "He reporteth that I doe slack the service in the Collonye, and doe nothing but tend my pott, spitt, and oven; but he hath starued my sonne, and denyed him a spoonefull of beere. I haue freindes in *England* shal be revenged on him, if euer he come in *London*. /"

I asked master President if I should answeare theis Complaints, and whether he had ought els to charge me withall. With that he pulled out a paper booke, loaded full with *Artycles* against me, and gave them Master *Archer* to reade.

I tould Master President and the Councell, that, by the instruccions for our government, our proceedings ought to be verball, and I was there ready to answeare; but they said they would proceede in that order. I desired a Coppie of the *Articles*, and tyme giuen me to answeare them likewise by wrighting; but that would not be graunted. I badd them then please themselues. Master *Archer* then read some of the *artycles*; when, on the suddaine, Master President said, "Staie, staie! Wee know not whether he

will abide our Iudgment, or whether he will appeale to the King ; ” sayeing to me, “ How saie you : Will you appeale to the King, or no ? ” I apprehended presently that gods mercy had opened me a waie, through their ignorance, to escape their malice ; for I never knewe how I might demande an appeale : besides, I had secret knowledge how th[e]y had foreiudged me to paie fwe fold for any thing that came to my handes, whereof I could not discharge my self by wrighting ; and that I should lie in prison vntil I had paid it /

The Cape Marchant had deliuered me our marchandize, without any noat of the perticularyties, vnder my hand ; for himself had receyued them in grosse. I likewise, as occasion moued me, spent them in Trade or by guift amongst the Indians. So likewise did Captain *Newport* take of them, when he went vp to discouer the kinges river, what he thought good, without any noate of his hand mentioning the certainty ; and disposed of them as was fitt for him. Of these, likewise, I could make no accompt ; onely I was well assured I had neuer bestowed the valewe of three penny whitles to my own vse, nor to the private vse of any other ; for I never carryed any fauorite over with me, or intertayned any thear. I was all one, and one to all.

Vpon theis consideracions, I answered Master President and the Councell, that his Maiestys handes were full of mercy, and that I did appeale to His Maiesties mercy. They then comytted me prisoner againe to the master of ye pynnassee, with theis words, “ Looke to him well : he is now the kinges prisoner.”

Then Master *Archer* pulled out of his bosome another paper book full of *Artycles* against me, desiring that he might reade them in the name of the Collony. I said I stood there ready to answeare any mans complaintt whome I had wronged ; but no one man spoke one word against me.

Then was he willed to reade his booke, whereof I complayned ; but I was still answered, “ If they doe me wrong, they must answer it.” I haue forgotten the most of the *Artycles*, they were so slight (yet he glorieth much in his pennworke). I know well the last : and a speeche that he then made savoured well of a mutyny ; for he desired that by no meanes, I might lye prysoner in the

- [1607] Towne, least boath he and others of the Collony should not giue such obedience to their comaund as they ought to doe: which goodly speech of his they easilie swallowed.

^{1611. viii. 1} But it was vsuall and naturall to this honest gentleman, Master *Archer*, to be allwayes hatching of some mutany; in my tyme, hee might haue appeered an author of 3 seuerall mutynies.

And hee (*as Master Pearsie* sent me worde) had bought some witnesses handes against me to diuers *artycles*, with Indian cakes (which was noe great matter to doe after my deposall, and considering their hungar) perswations and threats. At another tyme, he feared not to saie openly, and in the presence of one of the Councell, that, if they had not deposed me when they did, he hadd gotten twenty others to him self, which should haue deposed me. But this speech of his was likewise easily disiested /

Master *Croftes* feared not to saie, that, if others would ioyne with him, he would pull me out of my seate, and out of my skynn too. Others would saie (whose names I spare), that, vnless I would amend their allowance, they would be their owne caruers. For these mutinus speeches I rebuked them openly, and proceeded no further against them, considering therein of mens liues in the kinges service there. One of the Councell was very earnest with me to take a guard aboue me. I answered him, I would no guard but gods love and my own innocencie. In all theis disorders was Master *Archer* a ringleader.

^{1607, see p. lxxi.}

When Master President and Master *Archer* had made an end of their *Artycles* aboue mentioned, I was again sent prisoner to the Pynnasse; and Master *Kendall*, takeinge from thence, had his liberty, but might not carry armes /

All this while, the Salvages brought to the Towne such Corne and flesh as they could spare. *Paspaherighe*, by *Tapahanne's* mediation, was taken into friendshipp with vs. The Councillors, Master *Smyth* especially, traded vp and downe the river with the Indyans for corne; which releued the Collony well.

As I understand by report, I am much charged with staruing the Collony. I did allwayes giue euery man his allowance faithfully, both of corne, oyle, aquivite, &c., as

[1607]

was by the Counsell proportioned : neyther was it bettered after my tyme, untill, towards th' end of March [1608], a Bisket was allowed to every workeing man for his breakefast, by meanes of the prouision brought vs by Captain *Newport*; as will appeare hereafter. It is further said, I did much banquit and ryot. I never had but one Squirell roasted ; whereof I gaue part to Master *Ratcliff* then sick : yet was that Squirell given me. I did never heate a flesh pott but when the comon pot was so used likewise. Yet how often Master Presidentes and the Councillors spittes haue night and day bene endaungered to break their backes,—so laden with swanns, geese, duckes, &c. how many times their flesh pottes haue swelled, many hungry eies did behold to their great longing. And what great Theeues and theeving thear hath been in the Comon stoare since my tyme, I doubt not but is already made knowne to his Maiesties Councell for Virginia.

The 17th daie of September, I was sent for to the Court to answere a Complaint exhibited against me by *Jehu Robinson*; for that, when I was president, I did saie, hee with otheis had consented to run awaye with the Shallop to Newfoundland. At an other tyme, I must answere Master *Smyth* for that I had said hee did conceale an intended mutany. I tould Master Recorder, those wordes would beare no actions ; that one of the Causes was done without the lymits mencioned in the Patent graunted to vs ; and therefore prayed Master President that I mought not be thus lugged with theis disgraces and troubles : but hee did weare no other eis or eares than grew on Master *Archeres* head.

The Iury gaue the one of them [*i.e.*, *Robinson*] 100*l* and the other [*i.e.*, *Smith*, see p.389] twoo hundred pound damages for slander. Then Master Recorder did very learnedly comfort me, that, if I had wrong, I might bring my writ of error in *London*; whereat I smiled.

I, seeing their law so speedie and cheape, desired iustice for a copper kettle which Master *Crofte* did deteyne from me. Hee said I had giuen it him. I did bid him bring his prooфе for that. Hee confessed hee had no prooфе. Then Master President did aske me if I would be sworne I did not giue it him. I said I knew no cause whie to

[1607] sweare for myne owne. He asked Master *Croftes* if hee would make oath, I did give it him; which oathe he tooke, and wann my kettle from me, that was in that place and tyme, worth half his waight in gold. Yet I did understand afterwards that he would haue given *John Capper* the one half of the kettle to haue taken the oath for him; but hee would [have] no copper on that price.

I tould Master President I had not known the like lawe, and prayed they would be more sparing of law vntill wee had more witt or wealthe; that lawes were good spies in a populous, peaceable, and plentiful country, whear they did make the good men better, and stayed the badd from being worse; yet wee weare so poore as they did but rob us of tyme that might be better ymployed in service in the Collonye.

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The . . . daie of . . . the President did beat *James Read*, the Smyth. The Smythe stroake him againe. For this he was condempned to be hanged; but, before he was turned off the lather, he desired to speake with the President in private, to whome he accused Master *Kendall* of a mutiny, and so escaped himself. What indictment Master Recorder framed against the Smyth, I knowe not; but I knowe it is familiar for the President, Counsellors, and other officers, to beate men at their pleasures. One lyeth sick till death, another walketh lame, the third cryeth out of all his boanes; which myseryes they doe take vpon their consciences to come to them by this their Almes of beating. Wear this whipping, lawing, beating, and hanging, in *Virginia*, knowne in *England*, I fear it would drie many well affected myndes from this honourable action of *Virginia*.

This Smyth comyng aboord the Pynnasse, with some others, aboute some busines, 2 or 3 dayes before his arraignement, brought me Comendacions from Master *Pearsye*, Master *Waller*, Master *Kendall*, and some others, saieing they would be glad to see me on shoare. I answered him, they were honest gentlemen, and had carryed themselues very obediently to their gouernors. I prayed god that they did not thinck of any ill thing vnworthie themselues. I added further, that vpon Sundaie, if the weathiar were faire, I would be at the sermon. Lastly, I said that I was so sickly, starued, lame, and did lye so could and wett in the Pynnasse, as I would be

dragged thither before I would goe thither any more. Sundaie proued not faire : I went not to the Sermon /

[1607]

The . . . daie of . . . , Master *Kendall* was executed ; being shott to death for a mutiny. In th' arrest of his iudgment, he alleaged to Master President yat his name was *Sicklemore*, not *Ratcliff*; and so had no authority to pronounce Judgment. Then Master *Martyn* pronounced Judgment.

Somewhat before this tyme, the President and Councell had sent for the keyes of my Coffers, supposing that I had some wrightings concerning the Collony. I requested that the Clearke of the Councell might see what they tooke out of my Coffers; but they would not suffer him or any other. Vnder culor heereof, they took my books of Accompt, and all my noates that concerned the expences of the Collony, and instructions vnder the Cape Marchantes hande of the stoare of prouision, diuers other bookees and trifles of my owne proper goods, which I could neuer recouer. Thus was I made good prise on all sides.

The . . . daie of . . . , the President comaunded me to come on shore ; which I refused, as not rightfully deposed, and desired that I mought speake to him and the Councell in the presence of 10 of the best sorte of the gentlemen. With much intreaty, some of them wear sent for. Then I tould them, I was determined to goe into *England* to acquaint our Councell there with our weaknes. I said further, their lawes and government was such as I had no ioye to liue under them any longer ; that I did much myslike their triumverat, haueing forsaken his Maiesties instruccions for our government, and therefore praied there might be more made of the Councell. I said further, I desired not to goe into *England*, if eyther Master President or Master *Archer* would goe, but was willing to take my fortune with the Collony ; and did also proffer to furnish them with 100*li* towards the fetching home [of] the Collonye, if the action was given ouer.

They did like of none of my proffers, but made diuers shott att mee in the Pynnassee. I, seeing their resolucions, went ashoare to them ; whear, after I had staied a while in conference, they sent me to the Pynnassee againe.

Decem.—The 10th of December, Master *Smyth* went vp the Ryuer of the *Chechohomynies* to trade for corne. He was desirous to see the heade of that riuier ; and, when it

[1607-8] was not possible with the Shallop, he hired a Cannow and an Indian to carry him vp further. The river the higher grew worse and worse. Then hee went on shoare with his guide, and left *Robinson* and *Emmery*, twoe of our men, in the cannow; which were presently slayne by the Indians, *Pamaonkes* men, and hee himself taken prysoner, and, by the meanes of his guide, his lief was saved; and *Pamaonche*, haueing him prisoner, Carryed him to his neybors wyroances to see if any of them knew him for one of those which had bene some twoe or three yeeres before vs, in a River amongst them Northward, and taken awaie some Indians from them by force. At last he brought him to the great *Powaton* (of whome before wee had no knowledg), who senthim home to our Towne thevijth of January [1608].

[¶ xliii, lxxvi, 53r] During Master *Smythes* absence, the President did swear Master *Archer* one of the Councell, contrary to his oath taken in the *Artycles* agreed vpon betweene themselves (before spoken of), and contrary to the Kinges instruccions, and without Master *Martyns* consent; whereas there weare no more but the President and Master *Martyn* then of the Councell /

[¶ lxiii] Master *Archer*, being settled in his authority, sought how to call Master *Smyths* lief in question, and had indited him vpon a Chapter in *Leuniticus* for the death of his twoe men. Hee had had his tryall the same daie of his retorne, and, I believe, his hanging the same, or the next daie, so speedie is our lawe thear: but it pleased god to send Captain *Newport* vnto us the same eevening, to our vnspeakable comfortes; whose arryuall sauad Master *Smyths* lief and mine, because hee took me out of the pynnassee, an[d] gaue me leave to lye in the Towne. Also by his comyng was prevented a Parliament, which ye newe Counsailour, Master Recorder, intended thear to summon. Thus error begot error /

Captayne *Newport* haueing landed, lodged and refreshed his men, ymploied some of them about a faire stoare house, others about a stove, and his Maryners aboute a Church ; all which workes they finished cherefuly and in short tyme /

January.—The 7 [³ 17] of January [1608], our towne was almost quite burnt, with all our apparel and prouision; but Captain *Newport* healed our wants, to our great comforts, out of the great plenty sent vs by the prouident and loving care of our worthie, and most worthie Councell.

This Vigilant Captayne, slacking no oportunity that might aduaunce the prosperity of the Collony, haueing settled the Company vpon the former workes, took Master *Smyth* and Master *Scrivener* (an other Councillor of *Virginia*, vpon whose discretion liveth a great hope of the action), went to discouer the River *Pamaonche*, on the further side whearof dwelleth the Great *Powatow*, and to trade with him for Corne. This River lyth North from vs, and runneth East and West. I haue nothing but by relation of that matter, and therefore dare not make any discourse thereof, lest I mought wrong the great desart which Captain *Newportes* loue to the action hath deserued; especially himself being present, and best able to giue satisfaccion thereof. I will hasten therefore to his retorne.

March.—The 9th of Marche, he returned to *James Towne* with his Pynnasse well loaden with corne, wheat, beanes, and pease, to our great comfort and his worthi commendacions /

By this tyme, the Counsell and Captayne haueing intentiuely looked into the Carryadge both of the Councillors and other officers, remoued some officers out of the stoare; and Captain *Archer*, a Councillor, whose insolency did looke vpon that little himself with great sighted spectacles, derrogating from others merrites by spueing out his venomous libells, and infamous chronicles vpon them, as doth appeere in his owne hand wrighting; ffor which, and other worse trickes, he had not escaped ye halter, but that Captain *Newport* interposed his advice to the Contrarye /

April.—Captayne *Newport*, haueing now dispatched all his busines and set the Clocke in a true course (if so the Counsell will keep it), prepared himself for *England* vpon the xth of April, and arryued at *Blackwall* on sunday, the xxijth of Maye, 1608.

F I N I S .



humbly craue some patience to answeare many scandalus imputacions which malice, more than malice, hath scattered vpon my name, and those frivilous greevances objected against me by

[1608] the President and Councell; and though *nil conscire sibi* be the onely maske that can well couer my blushes, yett doe I not doubt but this my Appologie shall easily wipe them awaie.

It is noysed that I combyned with the *Spanniards* to the distruccio[n] of the Collony: That I ame an Atheist, because I carryed not a Bible with me, and because I did forbid the preacher to preache: that I affected a Kingdome; That I did hide of the comon prouision in the ground./

I confesse I haue alwayes admyled any noble vertue and prowesse, as well in the *Spanniards* (as in other Nations); but naturally I haue alwayes distrusted and disliked their neighborhoode.

I sorted many booke[s] in my house, to be sent vp to me at my goeing to *Virginia*; amongst them a Bible. They were sent me vp in a Trunck to *London*, with diuers fruite, conserues, and preserues, which I did sett in Master *Crofte* his house in *Ratcliff*. In my beeing at *Virginia*, I did vnderstand my trunck was thear broken vp, much lost, my sweetmeates eaten at his Table, some of my booke[s] which I missid to be seene in his handes; and whether amongst them my *Bible* was so ymbeasiled or mislayed by my seruantes, and not sent me, I knowe not as yet.

Two or three sundayes morninges, the Indians gaue vs allarums at our towne. By that tymes they weare answered, the place about us well discouered, and our devyne service ended, the daie was farr spent. The preacher [*R. Hunt*] did aske me if it weare my pleasure to haue a sermon: hee said hee was prepared for it. I made answeare, that our men were weary and hungry, and that he did see the tyme of the daie farr past (for at other tymes hee neuer made such question, but the service finished, he began his sermon); and that if it pleased him, wee would spare him till some other tyme. I never failed to take such noates by wrighting out of his doctrine as my capacity could comprehend, vnless some raynie day hindred my indeauour.

My mynde never swelled with such ympossible mountebank humors as could make me affect any other Kingdome then the kingdom of heaven/

As truly as god liueth, I gaue an ould man, then the

keeper of the private stoure, 2 glasses with sallet oyle which I brought with me out of *England* for my private stoare, and willed him to bury it in the ground, for that I feared the great heate would spoile it. Whatsoeuer was more, I did never consent vnto or knewe of it; and as truly was it protested vnto me, that all the remaynder before mencioned of the oyle, wyne, &c., which the President receyued of me when I was deposed, theye themselues poored into their owne bellyes.

To the Presidents and Councelles obiections I saie, that I doe knowe Curtesey and Civility became a governor. No penny whitle was asked me, but a kniffe, whereof I had none to spare. The Indyans had long before stoallen my knife. Of chickins I never did eat but one, and that in my sicknes. Master *Ratchfiff* had before that time tasted of 4 or 5. I had by my owne huswiferie bred aboue 37, and the most part of them of my owne poultrye; of all which, at my comyng awaie, I did not see three liueing. I never denyed him (or any other) beare, when I had it. The corne was of the same which wee all liued vpon.

Master *Smyth*, in the tyme of our hungar, had spred a rumor in the Collony, that I did feast myself and my seruantes out of the 'comon stoare, with entent (as I gathered) to haue stirred the discontented company against me. I tould him privately, in Master *Gosnold's* tent, that indeede I had caused half a pinte of pease to be sodden with a peese of pork, of my owne piouision, for a poore old man, which in a sicknes (whereof he died) he much desired; and said, that if out of his malice he had given it out otherwise, that hee did tell a lye. It was proued to his face, that he begged in *Ireland* like a rogue, without a lycence. To such I would not my name should be a Companyon.

Master *Martins* payns, during my comaund, never stirred out of our towne tenn scoare; and how slack hee was in his watching and other dutyes, it is too well knowne. I never defrauded his sonne of any thing of his own allowance, but gaue him aboue it. I believe their disdainefull vsage and threats, which they many tymes gaue me, would have pulled some distempered speeches out of farr greater Pacyence than myne. Yet shall not

[pp. 107,
411]

[1608] any revenging humor in me befoule my penn with their base names and liues here and there. I did visit Master *Pearsie*, Master *Hunt*, Master *Brewster*, Master *Pickasse*, Master *Alicock*, ould *Short* the bricklayer, and duerse others, at seuerall tymes. I never miskalled at a gentleman at any time /

Concerning my depositing from my place, I can well proue that Master *Ratcliff* said, if I had vsed him well in his sicknes (wherein I find not myself guilty of the contrary), I had never bene deposed.

Master *Smyth* said, if it had not bene for Master *Archer*, I hadd never bene deposed. Since his being here in the Towne, he hath said that he tould the President and Councell that they were frivilous obiections they had collected against me, and that they had not doone well to depose me. Yet, in my conscience, I doe believe him [*Smith*] the first and onely practizer in theis practisses.

I. lxiij. Master *Archers* quarrell to me was, because hee had not the choise of the place for our plantation ; because I misliked his leying out of our towne, in the pinnasse ; because I would not sware him of the Councell for *Virginia*, which neyther I could doe or he deserve.

I. xxxii. Master *Smyths* quarrell, because his name was mencioned in the intended and confessed mutiny by *Galthropp*.

Thomas Wootton the Surieon, because I would not subscribe to a Warrant (which he had gotten drawne) to the Treasurer of *Virginia*, to deliuier him mony to furnish him with drugges and other necessaryes ; and because I disallowed his living in the pinnasse, haueing many of our men lyeing sick and wounded in our Towne, to whose dressings by that meanes he slacked his attendance.

. Of the same men, also, Captain *Gosnold* gaue me warning, misliking much their dispositions, and assured me they would lay hold of me if they could ; and peradventure many, because I held them to watching, warding, and workeing ; and the Collony generally, because I would not giue my consent to starue them. I cannot rack one word or thought from myself, touching my Carryadg in *Virginia*, other than is herein set down.

If I may now, at the last, presume vpon your favours, I am an honourable suitor that your owne loue of truth will

vouchsafe to releave me from all false aspertions happenning since I embarked me into this affaire of *Virginia*. For my first worke (which was to make a right choise of a spirituall Pastor), I appeale to the remembraunce of my Lord of *Caunterbury* his grace, who gaue me very gracious audience in my request. And the world knoweth whome I took with me [R. Hunt]: truly, in my opinion, a man not any waie to be touched with the rebellious humors of a popish spirit, nor blemished with ye least suspition of a factious scismatick, whereof I had a speciall care.

[1608]

[A. 958.]

For other obiections, if your worthie selues be pleased to set me free, I haue learned to despise ye popular verdict of ye vulgar. I ever chered up myself with a confidence in ye wisdome of graue, iudicious Senatours; and was never dismayed, in all my service, by any synister event: though I bethought me of ye hard beginnings, which, in former ages, betided those worthy spirites that planted the greatest monarchies in *Asia* and *Europe*; wherein I obserued rather ye troubles of *Moses* and *Aron*, with other of like history, then that venom in the mutinous brood of *Cadmus*, or that harmony in ye swete consent of *Amphion*. And when, with ye former, I had considered that even the betheren, at their plantacion of the Romaine Empire, were not free from mortall hatred and intestine garboile, likewise that both ye Spanish and English Records are guilty of like factions, it made me more vigilant in the avoyding thereof: and I protest, my greatest contencion was to prevent contencion, and my chiefest endeavour to preserue the liues of others, though with ye great hazard of my own; for I neuer desired to enamell my name with bloude.

I reioice that my trauells and daungers haue done somewhat for the behoof of *Jerusalem* in *Virginia*. If it be obiected as my ouersight to put my self amongst such men, I can saie for myself, thear wear not any other for our consort; and I could not forsake ye enterprise of opening so glorious a Kingdom vnto ye King, wherein I shall ever be most ready to bestow ye poore remainder of my dayes, as in any other his heighnes' dissigues, according to my bounden duty, with ye vtmost of my poore Tallent.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

Letter to DUDLEY CARLETON.

7 July 1608.

[*State Papers, Domestic. James I. (1608) Vol. 35, No. 13*]

[Extract.]

[1608]



IR,—I cannot but commend your memorie that, etc.
Here is a ship [*the Phoenix under Captain Nelson*] newly come from *virginia* that hath ben long missing, she went out the last yeare in consort with Captain *Newport*, and after much wandering found the port three or fowre days after his departure for *England*, I heare not of any nouelties or other commodities she hath brought more then sweet wood.

Sir Horace Vere, etc.

From London this 7th of July 1608.

Yours most assuredly

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

[Addressed]

*To my assured goode frend
Master DUDLEY CARLETON
geue these at Eaton.*

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

Letter to DUDLEY CARLETON.

23 January 1609.

[*State Papers, Domestic. James I (1609) Vol. 43, No 39*]

[*Extract*]



IR.—You had heard from me on friday, etc.

The least of our East Indian ships called the pinnesse is arrived at Dartmouth with a 100 tunne of cloues, without seeing or hearing any thing of her consorts since they parted from the coast of England.

Here is likewise a ship newly come from Virginia [under Captain Newport, see p. 128] with some petty commodities and hope of more, as divers sorts of woode for wainscot and other vses, sope ashes, some pitch and tarre, certain unknowne kindes of herbs for dieng, not without suspicion (as they terme yt) of Cuchenilla.

I must recall, etc.

From London this 23th of January 1608[-9].

Yours most assuredly

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

[*Addressed*]

To my assured goode frend
Master DUDLEY CARLETON.
geue these at Eton.

[1609]

Captain GABRIEL ARCHER.

Letter from James Town.

31 August 1609.

[PURCHAS. *Pilgrims* iv 1733 Ed 1625]

A Letter of Master GABRIEL ARCHAR, touching the Voyage of the Fleet of Ships, which arriuied at Virginia, without Sir THOMAS GATES and Sir GEORGE SVMMERS, 1609.

[1609]



Rom Woolwich the fifteenth of May, 1609, seuen saile weyed anchor; and came to Plimmouth the twentieth day, where Sir George Somers, with two small Vessels, consorted with vs. Here we tooke into the *Blessing* (being the ship wherein I went) sixe Mares and two Horses; and the Fleet layed in some necessaries belonging to the action: in which businesse we spent time till the second of Iune. And then wee set sayle to Sea, but crost by South-west windes, we put in to Faulemouth, and there staying till the eight of Iune, we then gate out.

[These side-
notes are
probably by
Rev S
Purchas.]

The
appointed
Course.

Our Course was commanded to leaue the *Canaries* one hundred leagues to the Eastward at least, and to steere away directly for *Virginia*, without touching at the *West Indies*, except the Fleet should chance to be separated, then they were to repaire to the *Bermuda*, there to stay seuen dayes in expectation of the Admiral [*flag ship*]; and if they found him not, then to take their course to *Virginia*.

Now thus it happened; about sixe dayes after [about 14 June] we lost the sight of *England*, one of Sir George Somers Pinnasses left our company, and (as I take it) bare vp for *England*; the rest of the ships, *viz.* The *Sea Adventure* Admirall, wherein was Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somer, and Captaine Newport: The *Diamond* Vice-admirall, wherein was Captaine Ratchiffe, and Captaine King. The *Falcon* Reare-admirall, in which was Captaine Martin, and Master Nellson: The *Blessing*, wherein I and Captaine Adams went: The *Vnitie*, wherein Captaine Wood, and Master Pett were. The *Lion*, wherein Captaine Webb remained: And the *Swallow* of Sir George Somers, in which Captaine Moone, and Master Somer went. In the *Catch* went one Matthew Fitch Master: and in the Boat of Sir George Somers, called the *Virginia*, which was built in the North Colony, went one Captaine Davies, and one Master Davies. These were the Captaines and Masters of our Fleet.

We ran a Southerly course from the Tropicke of *Cancer*, where hauing the Sun within sixe or seuen degrees right ouer our head in July, we bore away West; so that by the feruent heat and loomes breezes, many of our men fell sicke of the *Calenture*, and out of two ships was throwne ouer-board thirtie two persons. The Vice-admiral was said to haue the plague in her; but in the *Blessing* we had not any sicke, albeit we had twenty women and children.

Vpon Saint *James* day [25 July], being about one hundred and fiftie leagues distant from the *West Indies*, in crossing the Gulf of *Bahoma*, there hapned a most terrible and vehement storme, which was a taile of the *West Indian Horacono*; this tempest seperated all our Fleet one from another; and it was so violent that men could scarce stand vpon the Deckes, neither could any man heare another speake. Being thus diuided, euery man steered his owne course; and as it fell out, about fife or sixe dayes [2 or 3 August] after the storme ceased (which endure[d] fortie foure houres in extremitie [25-27 July]), the *Lion* first, and after the *Falcon* and the *Vnitie*, got sight of our Shippe, and so we lay away directly for *Virginia*, finding neither current nor winde opposite, as some

[1609]
The Ships,
and chiefe
men in the
Fleet

Sicknesse
and mor-
talitie at
Sea

Terrible
tempest.

Note False
rumors
chargeable.

xcvi [Letter announcing arrival of Third Supply.]

Introduction.
Capt G. Archer.
31 Aug. 1609.

[1609] haue reported, to the great charge of our Counsell and Aduenturers.

The *Vnity* was sore distressed when she came vp with vs, for of seuenty landmen, she had not ten sound; and all her Sea men were downe but onely the Master and his Boy with one poore sailer: but we relieued them. And we foure consorting, fell into the Kings Riuier [*i.e.*, *James river*] haply the eleventh of August. In the *Vnity* were borne two children at Sea, but both died: being both Boyes.

Arriall in
Virginea.

When wee came to *James Towne*, we found a Ship which had bin there in the Riuier a moneth before we came [*i.e.*, about 10 July]. This was sent out of *England* by our Counsels leaue and authority, to fish for Sturgeon; and to goe the ready way, without tracing through the Torrid Zoan, and shee performed it: her Commander was Captaine *Argoll* (a good Marriner, and a very ciuill Gentleman) and her Master one *Robert Tindall* [pp. xxxviii, xli].

State of the Colony.

The people of our Colonie were found all in health (for the most part). Howbeit when Captaine *Argoll* came in, they were in such distresse, for many were dispersed in the Sauages townes, liuing vpon their almes for an ounce of Copper a day; and fourescore liued twenty miles from the Fort and fed vpon nothing but Oysters eight weekes

[pp. 155, 472] space, hauing no other allowance at all: neither were the people of the Country able to relieu them if they would. Wherupon Captaine *Newport* and others haue beeene much to blame to informe the Counsell of such plenty of victuall in this Country, by which meanes they haue beeene slacke in this supply to give conuenient content. Vpon this, you that be aduenturers, must pardon vs, if you finde not returne of Commodity so ample as you may expect, because the law of nature bids vs seeke sustenance first, and then to labour to content you afterwards. But vpon this point I shall be more large in my next Letter.

Idlenesse
and other
vices to
blame also

After our foure Ships had bin in harbour a fewe dayes, came in [15 Aug] the Viceadmirall, hauing cut her maine Mast ouer boord, and had many of her men very sicke and weake; but she could tell no newes of our Gouernour: and some three or foure dayes after her [18 Aug.], came in the *Swallow*, with her maine Mast

ouerboord also; and had a shrewd leake, neither did she [1609] see our Admirall.

Now did we all lament the absence of our Gouernour, for contentions began to grow, and factions, and partakings, &c. Insomuch as the President [Captain Smith], to strengthen his authority, accorded with the Mariners, and gae not any due respect to many worthy Gentlemen that came in our Ships: whereupon they generally (hauing also my consent) chose Master West, my Lord de la War[re]s brother, to be their Gouernour, or president *de bene esse*, in the absence of Sir Thomas Gates, or if he miscarried by Sea, then to continue till we heard newes from our Counsell in *England*. This choice of him they made not to disturbe the old President during his time [Captain Smith's year of office would have expired in a few days after the writing of this letter, viz., 10 Sept. 1609: but he had already during this month of August once given up the Presidency to Captain Martin, who resigned it back to him again; see pp. 162, 481]: but as his authority expired, then to take vpon him the sole goue[r]nment, with such assistants of the Captaines, as discreetest persons as the Colonie afforded.

Perhaps you shall haue it blazoned a mutenie by such as retaine old malice; but Master West, Master Percie, and all the respected Gentlemen of worth in *Virginia*, can and will testifie otherwise vpon their oathes. For the Kings Patent we ratified, but refused to be gouerned by the President that now is, after his time was expired; and onely subjected our selues to Master West, whom we labour to haue next President.

I cannot certifie you of much more as yet, vntill we grow to some certaine stay in this our state; but by the other Ships you shall know more. So with my harty commendations I cease.

From *James Towne* this last of August 1609.

Some things,
partly false
humours,
partly
factious
sugges-
tions, are
here left
out

They
choose a
new
Governor.

*Hinc illæ
lachrymae.*
Hence from
the male-
contents
which had
been
in *Virginia*
before (ene-
mies to the
President),
raising
ill reports
at their
comming of
him, arose
these stirr
and the
following
miseries in
which this
Author
[Captain
Gabriel
Archer]
with almost
the whole
Colony
perished.



Captain J O H N R A T C L I F F E
alias SICKELMORE.

Letter to the Earl of SALISBURY.
 4 October 1609.

This letter is written in a scrivener's hand, and is merely signed by the Writer.

[*State Papers, Colonial. (1574-1621)* Vol. I. No. 191]

[1609]

ight Honorable, accordeinge to your gratiouse fauour being bound I am bold to write the truth of some late accidentes, be falne his Maies- ties *Virginia* collonye.

Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Summers Captaine Newport and 180 persons or ther about, are not yet arrived and we much feare they aie lost, and alsoe a small pinish. The other shippes came all in but not together; We were thus seperated by a storme; two shippes had great loss of men by the calenture; and most of them all much weatherbeaten. At our arrivall we found an English shipp, riding at *James towne* and Captaine Argoll hir commaunder.

We heard that all the Counsell were dead but Captaine Smith the President, who reigned sole governer without assistantes and would at first admitt of no councell but [pp. 167, 486] himselfe. This man is sent home to answeare some misdeameanors, whereof I perswade me he can scarcely clear him selfe from great imputation of blame.

Master George Pearcy my Lord of *Northumberlands* brother is elected our President, and Master West my Lord la wars brother, of the councell, with me and Captaine Martine; and some few of the best and worthyest that

inhabite at *James towne* are assistantes in ther advise vnto vs.

[1609]

Thus haue we planted 100 men at the falls, and some others vpon a champion, the President is at *James towne*, and I am raying a fortification vpon point *Comfort*, alsoe we haue been bold to make stay of a small shipp for discouerye and to procure vs victalls, wherof we haue exceedinge much need for the country people, set no more then sufficeth each familie a yeare, and the wood is yet so thice, as the labour to prepare so much ground as would be to any purpose is more then we can afford, our number being soe necessarylie dispersed: soe that if I might be held worthye to advise the directors of this busines: I hold it fitt that ther should be a sufficient supply of victualls for one yeare, and then to be sparinge, it would less hinder the collonye.

Thus fearinge to be too offensive in a tedious boldnes, I cease wishinge all hapines to your Honnor, yea wear it in the expense of my life and bloud.

from *James towne* this 4th of October, 1609.

Your Honnors in all obedience and most
humble dutye.

[Signed] JOHN RADCLYFFE./S Comenly Called.

[Addressed] To the Right Honorable the Earle of Salis-
burye Lord high Treasurer of England
deliuer these.

[lower down] from Virginia.

[Endorsed] 1609

4. Oc

Captaine John Radcliff
to my Lord from Virginia.

HENRY, Earl of SOUTHAMPTON.

Letter to the Earl of SALISBURY.

• 15 December 1609.

[*State Papers, Domestic* James I (1609) Vol. 50, No. 65]

[*Extract.*]

MY LORD:

[1609]



Ppon Wedensday morninge [13 Dec.] I went to Newmarkett and before the Kinge went to dinner I deliuered vnto him what I receaued from your Lordship concerninge, etc.

And thus wishinge a longe contine wance of your lordships happy fortune I rest

Your lordships most assuredly
to doo you service

H. S O U T H A M P T O N .

The 15 of December [*which, in 1609, was a Friday.*]

Talkinge with the King [*i.e., on Wednesday, 13 Dec.*] by chance I tould him of the *Virginia* squirills which they say will fly, wherof there are now diuers brought into England [*evidently in the ship or ships which brought Captain John Smith to England*], and hee presently and very earnestly asked mee if none of them was provided for him and whether your Lordship had none for him, sayinge that hee was sure you would gett him one of them. I would not have trobled you with this but that you know so well how hee is affected to these toyes, and with a little enquiry of any of your folkes you may furnish your self to present him att his comminge to *London* which will not bee before wensday next: the monday before to *Theobalds* and the saterday before that to *Roxton*.

HENRY SPELMAN.

Relation of Virginea.

This piece in broken English is a most important contribution to the history of the first colony on the James river, inasmuch as it is the only Eye-witness account, p. civ, of the massacre of Captain RATCLIFFE and his company by POWHATAN; about Nov. 1609, p. cii, or the beginning of the *Starving Time* of 1609-10, p. 498.

SPELMAN was rescued by Captain ARGALL in Sept 1610, p. 503 · but this narrative was evidently not written for some time after, for the writer says at p. cx .

Concerninge ther lawes my years and vnderstandinge,
made me the less to looke after.

We have therefore approximately dated the narrative 1613, as it was apparently written in England, p. civ.

HENRY SPELMAN was the thid son of Sir HENRY SPELMAN, the antiquary. He afterwards returned to Virginia, and rose to be a Captain in the colony, and is referred to at pp. 172, 498, 503, 528, 606.

This manuscript (now in the possession of JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, Esq., of Charleston, Massachusetts, U.S.A.) has only been recently printed, under the editorship of HENRY STEVENS, Esq., F S A., in an edition of 100 copies, London, 1872 to which impression, the reader is referred for an account of the singular adventures of the manuscript, until it was sold at Mr. LILLY's sale on 7 July 1871.



Einge in displeasuer of my frendes,
and desirous to see other cuntryes,
After [sum weekes] three moneths sayle
we cum with prosperus winds in sight
of Virginia wher A storme sodenly
arisinge seauered our [ship] fleete, (which
was of x sayle) euery shipp from other,
puttinge us all in great daunger for vij
or viij dayes togither. But y^e storme then ceasing our
shipp called y^e *vnitye* cam y^e [16] next morning safly to
an anker at Cape Henry y^e daye of October 1609,
Wher we found thre other of our fleete, and about a
senight after thre more cam thether also. The residew

[1609]

[p. xciv,
xcv]

[1609] [still remayned] Amongst which was Sir Thomas Gates
and Sir George Summers Knights [who] wear not [being]
hard of many monthes after our ariuall.

From Cape Henry we sayled up y^e Riuier Powáhtan & with in 4 or 5 dayes arived at James toune, wher we weare ioyfully welcomed by our cuntrymen beinge at that time about 80 persons under the gouernment of Capt Smith, The Præsident. Hauinge heare unladed our goods and bestowed sum senight or fortnight in vieinge of the country, I was caried By Capt Smith our President to y^e Fales, to y^e litell Powhatan wher vnknowne to me he soould me to him for a towne caled Powhatan and leauinge me with him y^e [17] little Powhatann, He made knowne to Capt weste how he had bought a toune for them to dwell in [*Wheruppon Capt weste growinge angrye (Bycause he had bestowed cost to begin a toune in another place) Capt Smith &c.*] desireing that capitaine Weste would come & settle himself there, (but capitaine Weste hauing) bestowed cost to begin a toune in another place (misliked it: and vnkindnesse thereupon arising betweene them) Capt Smith at that time [*saying*] repliede litell [*yet*] but afterward [*wrought*] conspired with the Powhatan to kill Capt weste, which Plott tooke but smale effect, for in y^e [interim] meane time Capt Smith was Aprehended, and sent abord for England, my self hauenge binn now about viij or viij dayes with the litell Powhatan who though he made uery much of me giuinge me such thinges as he had to winn me to live with him. [*When*] Yet I desired [18] to see our english and therfore made signes unto him to giue me leaue to goe to our ship to feach such thinges as I leafte behind me, which he agreed unto and settinge himselfe doun, he clapt his hand on the ground in token he would stay ther till I returned. But I staying sumwhat to long, at my cumminge [*backe*] to y^e place wher I leaft him I found him departed whervppon I wente backe to our shipp beinge still in y^e Fales and sayled with them to James toune, wher not beinge long ther, Before one Thomas Sauage with 4 or 5 Indians cam from the great Powhatan with venison to Capt: Percy, who now was president. After the deliuerie therof and that he must returne he was loith to goe with out sum of his cuntrymen

[1609]

went with him, wher uppon I was apoynted to goe, which I the more willinglie did, by Reason that vitals were scarce with us, cariinge with me [19] sum copper and a hatchet [*with me*] which I had gotten. [And] Cumminge to the Great Powetan I presented to him such thinges as I had which he tooke, vsinge me uery kindly, [*settinge this Sauage and me at his oune Table messe*]. And After I had bin with him about 3 weekes [? Nov. 1609] he sent me backe to our English bidding me tell them, that if they would bring ther ship, and sum copper, he would fraught hir backe with corne, which I hauing reported to our English and returning ther answer to ye Kinge, He before ther cumminge layd plotts to take them, which in sum sort he affected, for xxvj or vij they killed which cam towards land in ther long boate, and shott many arrows into ye shipp, whch our men perseyuing and fearinge the worst, wayed anker and returned. Now whil this busines was in [*doinge*] action ye Powhatan sends me and one Samwell a Duchman To a toune about xvij miles [20] of, caled Yawtanoone willinge us ther to stay [*till*] for him, At his cumminge thether we understood how althinges had passed by Thomas Sauage, as before is related, the Kinge in shew made still much of us yet his mind was much declined from us which made vs feare the worst, and hauing now bin with him about 24 or 25 weekes [? Mar. 1610], it happned that the Kinge [of Pasptan] of Patomeck cam to visitte the great Powetan, wher beinge a while with him, he shewed such kindnes to Sauage Samuell and my self as we determined to goe away with him, when the daye of his departure was cum, we did as we agreed and hauenge gone a mile or tow on the way, Sauage fayned sum excuss of stay & unknowne to us went backe to the Powetan and acquaynted him with our [*fleinge*] departing with ye Patowomeck. The Powetan presen[t]ly sends after us commandinge our returne: which we [21] [*not beleuinge*] refuseing went still on our way: and thos[e] that weare sent, went still on with us, till one of them findinge op[p]ortunity on a sudden strooke Samuell with an axe and killed him, which I seinge ran a way from a monge the company, they after me, the Kinge and his men after them, who ouertake them heald them, till I shifted for my self and gott to the Patomeckes country,

[p. 487.]

[1609-10] With this Kinge Patomecke I lived a year and more [? Mar.-
Sept. 1610] at a towne of his called Pasptanzie, untill such
[p. 503]
Xataua-
hane time as an worthy gentelman named Capt: Argall arived at
a toune cald Nacottawtanke, but by our english cald Camo-
cacocke. wher he understood that ther was an english boy
named Harry. He desiringe to here further of me cam up
the river which the Kinge of Patomeck hearringe sent me to
him and I goinge backe agayne brought the kinge to [him]
y^e shipe, wher [22] capt: Argall gaue the Kinge [sum]
copper for me, [and he] which he receyued Thus was I
sett [free] at libertye and brought into England.

[p. ci]

*[Another version of this passage is given in the last leaf of
the Manuscript, which may be the original draught.]*

[fraught] hir backe corne which I hauing reported to our
English, and returneing their answeare to y^e Powhatan.
Captaine Ratclyff came with a shipp with xxiiij or xxv men
to Orohpikes, and leauing his shipp there came by barge
with sixteen men to y^e Powhatan to Powmunkey where he
very curtuously in shew received them by sending them
bread and veinson in reward [23] whereof Captaine
Ratcllyff sent him copper and beades and such like Then
Powhatan appointed Cap: Ratcllyff a house for him and
his men to lye in during the time that thei should [traff]
traffique, not far from his owne but aboue half a mile from
the barge, and himself in the euening coming to the
[ther] house slenderly accompanied) welcomed him thither,
And [after Cap. Rat] returned leauing the dutch man,
Savage, and my self behinde him. The next day the
Powhatan with a company of Saluages came to Capt:
Ratcllyff, and caried our English to their storehouse where
their corne was to traffique with them, glieing them pieces
of copper and beades and other things. According to y^e
proportions of y^e basketts of corne which they brought but
the Indians dealing deceitfully by pulling or beareing vpp
the bottom of their baskets with their hands soe that y^e
[24] lesse corne might [searue to] fill them. The English
men taking exceptions against it and a discontentment
riseing vpon it y^e king [conveied himself and] departed
taking me and y^e dutchman with him [and] his wiues
hence, And presently a great number Indians that lay

lurking in ye woods & corne about began with an oulis and [1609-10] whoopubb and whilst our English men were in hast carieing their corne to their shipps the Indians *that* were hidden in ye corne shott the men as they passed by them and soe killed them all saueng one William Russell and one other whoe being acquainted with ye country escaped to James towne by land.] [25]

Of ther servis to their gods

TO giue sum satisfaction to my frends and contentment unto others, which wish well to this viage, and are desirus to heare ye fashions of that countrie: I haue set doun as well as I can, what I obserued in ye time I was amonge them. And therfore first concerninge ther gods, yow must understand that for ye most part they worship ye diuell, which ye coniurers who are ther preests, can make apeare unto them at ther pleasuer, yet neuer ye less in euery country they haue a seuerall Image whom they call ther god. As with the great Pawetan he hath an [26] Image called Cakeres which most comonly standeth at Yaughtawnoone [*in one of ye Kinges houses*] or at Oropikes in a house for that purpose and with him are sett all the Kings goods and presents *that* are sent him, as ye Cornne. But ye beades or Crowne or Bedd which ye Kinge of England sent him are in ye gods house at Oropikes, and in their houses are all ye Kinge ancesters and kindred commonly buried [*commonly*]. In ye Patomecks country they haue an other god whom they call Quioquascacke, and unto ther Images they offer Beades and Copper if at any time they want Rayne or haue to much, and though they obserue no day to worshipe ther god: but uppon necessitye, yet onc[e] in the yeare, ther preests *which* are ther coniurers with ye [people] men, weomen, and children doe goe into the woods, wher ther preests makes [27] a great cirkell of fier in ye whch after many obseruanses in ther coniurations they make offer of 2 or 3 children to be giuen to ther god if he will apeare unto them and shew his mind whome he [will haue] desier. Vppon which offringe they heare a

Caukevis
Manato
Taukinge
souke Quia
uassack.

[1609-10] noyse out of y^e Cirkell Nominatinge such as he will haue, whome presently they take bindinge them hand and footte and cast them into y^e circle of the fier, for be it the Kinges sonne he must be giuen if onc[e] named by ther god, After y^e bodies which are offered are consumed in the fier and ther cerimonees performed the men depart merily, the weomen weaping. [28]

Of the cuntry of Virginia

 He cuntry is full of wood [*and*] in sum partes, and water they haue plentifull, they haue marish ground and smale fields, for corne, and other grounds wher on ther Deare, goates, and stages feadeth, ther be in this cuntry Lions, Beares, woulues, foxes, muske catts, Hares ^afleinge squirells, and other squirels beinge all graye like conyes, great store of foule only Peacockes and common hens wanting: fish in abundance wher on they liue most part of the Summer time They haue a kind of wheat cald locataunce and Pease and Beanies, [29] Great store of walnuts growing in euery place. They haue no orchard frutes, only tow kind of plumbes the one a sweet and lussius plumbe long and thicke in forme and liknes of A Nutt Palme. the other resemblinge a medler But sumwhat sweeter yet not \AE table till they be rotten as ours are. [30]

<sup>a caied
assapa-
meeke.
[pp. c. 59,
355.]</sup>

Of ther Tounes & buildinges

 Laces of Habitation they haue but feaw for y^e greatest toune haue not aboue 20 or 30 houses in it, Ther Biuldinge are made like an ouen with a litell hole to cum in at But more spatius with in hauinge a hole in the midest of y^e house for smoke to goe out at, The Kinges houses are both broader and longer then y^e rest hauinge many darke windinges and turnings before any cum wher the Kinge is, But in that time when they goe a Huntinge y^e weomen goes to a place apoynted before, to build houses for ther

husbands to lie in att night carienge mattes with [31] them [1609-10] to couer ther houses with all, and as the men goes furthur a huntinge the weomen [goes before] follows to make houses, always carrienge ther mattes with them ther maner of ther Huntinge is thiss [wher] they meett sum 2 or 300 togither and hauinge ther bowes and arrows and euery one with a fier [sti] sticke in ther hand they besett a great thikett round about, which dunn euefy one sett fier on the ranke grass [and] which y^e Deare seinge fleeth from y^e fier, and the menn cumminge in by a litell and litle incloseth ther game in a narrow roome, so as with ther Bowes and arrowes they kill them at ther pleasuer takinge ther skinns which is the greatest thinge they desier, and sume flesh for ther prouision. [32]

Ther maner of mariing

JHe custum of y^e cuntry is to haue many wiues and to buye them, so that he which haue most copper and Beads may haue most wiues, for if he taketh likinge of any woman he makes loue to hir, and seeketh to hir father or kindsfolke to sett what price he must paye for hir, whch beinge on[c]e agreed on the kindred meett and make good cheere, and when the sume agreed on be payd she shall be deliuered to him for his wife, The ceremony is thus The parents bringes ther daughter betwene them [33] (if hir parents be deade then sume of hir kinsfolke, or whom it pleaseth y^e king to apoynt (for y^e man goes not unto any place to be maried But y^e woman is brought to him wher he dwelleth). At hir cumminge to him, hir father or cheefe frends ioynes the hands togither and then y^e father or cheef frend of y^e man Bringeth a longe stringe of Beades and measuringe his armes leangth theiof doth breake it ouer y^e hands of thos that are to be married while ther handes be ioyned together, and giues it unto y^e womans father or him that brings hir, And so with much mirth and feastinge they goe togither, When y^e Kinge of y^e cuntry will haue any wiues he acquaintes his cheef men with his purpose, who sends [for] into all partes of y^e cuntry for y^e fayrest and cumliest

[1609-10] mayds out of which ye Kinge taketh his choyse giuen to ther parents what he pleaseth. If any of ye [34] Kings wiues haue onc[e] a child by him, he [*neuer lieth with her more*] keepes her no longer but puts her from him giuinge her suffitient Copper and beads to mayntayne her and the child while it is younge and then [it] is taken from her and mayntayned by ye King[s charge], it now beinge lawfull for her beinge thus put away to marry with any other, The Kinge Poetan hauinge many wiues when he goeth a Huntinge or to visitt another Kinge vnder him (for he goeth not out of his owne country) He leaueth them with tow ould men who haue the charge on them till his returne.

This Pasptansee was brother to Patomsk.

It was my happ to be leaft at one of ye Kings Pasptanses Howses when he went to uisitt another Kinge and two of his wiues wear ther also, after the Kings departure, one of them would goe visitte her father, [*whos*] her name was Paupauwiske, and seinge me, willed me [35] to goe with her and to take her child and carye him thether in [*his*] my armes, beinge a [*long*] days iouyrnye from ye place wher we dwelt, [*but*] which I refusinge she strook me 3 or 4 blows, but I beinge loith to bear to much gott to her and puld her doune giuinge her sum blows agayne which ye other of ye Kings wiues perseyuinge, they both fell on me beatinge me so as I thought they had lAMD me, Afterwarde when ye Kinge cam home: in ther presents I acquainted him how they had used me, The King with out futher delay tooke vp a *couwascohocan*, which is a kind of paringe Iron, and strooke at one of them with such uiolenc[e], as he felde her to the ground in manor deade. I seinge *that*, fled to a Neyghburs house, for feare of ye Kings displeasuer, But his wife cumming againe to hir self: sumwhat apeased his anger so as understandinge wher I was [36] by his brother, he sent me his younge child to still, for none could quiet him so well as my selfe, and about midnight he sent for him againe, The next day morninge the King was erlye vpp, and came to the house wher I was: loith I was to see him, yet being cum to him instead of his anger, I found him kind to me, asking me how I did, and whether I was affrayd of him last night, bycause I rann away from him, and hidd my selfe, I being by his speeches sumwhat boulder, Asked him for his Queene, He answered

all was well, and that I should goe home with him tellinge [1609-10] me he loued me, and none [*should*] should hurt me. I though loith went with him, wher at my cumminge ye Queene looked but discontentedly on me, But hoping on the Kinges promise, I cared y^e less for others frownes, knowinge well that y^e Kinge made y^e more of me in [37] hope I should healpe him to sum copper, if at any time our english cam into thos parts, which I often had promised him to doe, and which was by Capt: Argall Bountifullly performed. [38]

How the[y] name ther children

 After the mother is deliuered of hir child with in sum feaw dayes after the kinsfolke and neyburs beinge intreated ther unto, cums unto y^e house : wher beinge assembled the father, takes the child in his armes : and declares that his name shall be, as he then calls him, so his name is, which dunn y^e rest of y^e day is spent in feastinge and dauncinge. [39]

Ther maner of uisitinge the sicke with ye fation of ther buriall if they dye,

 Hen any be sicke among them, ther preests cums unto the partye whom he layeth on the ground uppon a matt And hauing a boule of water, sett betwene him and the sicke partye ; and a Rattle by it, The preest kneelinge by the sick mans side dippes his hand into the boule, which takinge vp full of waiter, he supps into his mouth, spowting it out againe, vppon his oun armes, and brest, then takes he the Rattle, and with one hand takes that, and [40] with the other he beates his brest, makinge a great noyes, which hauninge dunn he easilie Riseth (as loith to wake the sicke bodye, first with one legge, then with the other, And beinge now gott vp, he leaysuerly goeth about y^e sicke man shak-

[1609-10]inge his Rattle verry [easily] softly ouer all his bodye : and with his hand he stroketh y^e greaued parts of the sickie, then doth he besprinkell him with water mum[bl]inge certayne words ouer him, and so for that time leauue him,

But if he be wounded after thes ceremonys dunn unto him he with a little flint stone gasheth the wound makinge it to runn and bleede whiche he settinge his mouth unto it suckes out, and then aplies a certayne roote betten to powter unto y^e Sore.

If he dies his buriall is thus ther is a scaffould built about 3 or 4 yards hye from the ground and the deade bodye wraped in a matt is brought to the place, wher when [41] he is layd ther on, the kinsfolke falles a weopinge and make great sorrow, and instead of a dole for him, (the poorer people beinge gott togither) sum of his kinsfolke flinges Beades amonge them makinge them to scramble for them, so that many times diuers doe breake ther armes and legges beinge pressed by the cumpany, this finished they goe to y^e parties house wher they haue meat giuen them which beinge Aeten all y^e rest of the day they spend in singinge and dauncinge vsing then as much mirth as before sorrow more ouer if any of y^e kindreds bodies which haue bin layd on y^e scaffould should be consumed as nothing is leaft but bonns they take thos bonns from y^e scaffould and puttinge them into a new matt, hangs them in ther howses, wher they continewhille ther house falleth and then they are buried in the ruinges of y^e house[.] what goods [42] the partie leaueth is deuided amonge his wiues and children. But his house he giueth to the wife he liketh best for life : after her death, unto what child he most loueth. [43]

The Justis and gouernment

 Oncerninge ther lawes my years and understandinge, made me the less to looke after bycause I thought that Infidels wear lawless yet when I saw sum put to death I asked the cause of ther offence, for in the time that I was with y^e Patomecke I saw 5 executed 4 for murther of a child (id

est) y^e mother, and tow other that did the fact with hir [1609-10] and a 4 for consealing it as he passed by, beinge bribed to hould his pease. and one for robbing a traueler [44] of coper and beades for to steale ther neyburs corne or copper is death, or to lye one with anothers wife is death if he be taken in the manner. [45]

The manor of execution

Hos that be conuicted of capitall offences are brought into a playne place before y^e Kinges house when then he laye, which was at Pomunkeye thechefest house he hath wher one or tow apoynted by the Kinge did bind them hand and foote, whch being dunn a great fier was made, Then cam the officer to thos that should dye, and with a shell cutt off ther long locke, which they weare on the leaft side of ther heade, and hangeth that on a bowe before the Kings house Then thos for murther wear Beaten with staues till ther bonns [46] weare broken and beinge aliuue weare floung [pp 81,377.] into the fier, the other for robbing was knockt on y^e heade and beinge deade his bodye was burnt. [47]

The manor of settinge ther corne with y^e gatheringe and Dressing.

Hey take most commonly a place about ther howses to sett ther corne, whch if ther be much wood, in that place the[y] cutt doune the greate trees sum half a yard aboue the ground, and y^e smaller they burne at the roote pullinge a good part of barke from them to make them die, and in this place they digg many holes whch before the English brought them scauels and spades they vsed to make with a crooked peice of woode beinge scraped on both sides in fation of a gardiners paring Iron. they [48] put in to thes holes ordenarily 4 or 5 curnels of ther wheat and 2 beanies like

[1609-10] french beanes, which when the wheat doe growe vp hauinge a straw as bigg as a canne reede the beanes runn vp theron like our hopps on poles, The eare of y^e wheat is of great bignes in lenght and cumpace and yet for all the greatnes of it euery stalke hath most commonly sum fower or fve eares on it, Ther corne is sett and gathered about the time we vse, but ther maner of ther gatheringe is as we doe our [aples] apells first in a hand basketts [putti] emtiinge them as they are filled into other bigger basketts wherof sum are made of the barkes of trees, some of heampe which naturally groweth ther, and some of the straw wheron y^e wheat groweth, Now after y^e gatheringe, they laye it upon matts a good thicknes in the soun to drye & [49] euery night they make a great pile of it, coueringe it ouer with matts to defend it from the dewe, [which] and when it is suffitien[t]ly weathered they pile it up in ther howses, dayly as occasion serueth wringinge the eares in peises betwene ther hands, and so rubbinge out ther corne do put it to a great Baskett which taketh upp the best parte of sum of ther howses, and all this is cheefly the weomens worke for the men doe only hunt to gett skinns in winter and doe tewe or dress them in summer.

But though now out of order yet let me not altogether forgett the settinge of y^e Kings corne for which a day is apoynted wherin great part of y^e cuntry people meeete who with such diligence worketh as for the most part all y^e Kinges corne is sett on a daye After which setting the Kinge takes the croune which y^e Kinge of England sent him beinge [50] brought him by tow men, and setts it on his heade which dunn the people goeth about the corne in maner backwardes for they going before, and the king followinge ther faces are always toward the Kinge exspectinge when he should flinge sum beades amonge them which his custum is at that time to doe makinge thos which had wrought to scramble for them But to sume he fauors he bids thos that carry his Beades to call such and such unto him unto whome he giueth beads into ther hande and this is the greatest curtesey he doth his people, when his corne is ripe the cuntry people cum to him againe and gathers drys and rubbes out all his corne for him, which is layd in howses apoynted for that purpose. [51]

The settinge at meat

THey sett on matts round about y^e howse y^e men [1609-10] by them selues and y^e weomen by ther selues y^e weomen bringe to euery one a dish of meat for the better sort neuer eates toghether in one dish, when he hath eaten what he will, or that which was giuen him, for he looks for no [meat] second corse he settis doun his dish by him and mum[b]leth ceartayne words to himself in maner of [a saying grace] giuinge thankes, if any lefft y^e weomen gather it up & ether keeps it till y^e next meall, or gives it to y^e porer sort, if any be ther. [52]

The differences amonge them

THe King is not know by any differenc[e] from other of y^e [better] chefe sort in y^e cuntry but only when he cumis to any of ther howses they present him with copper Beads or Vitall, and shew much reuerence to him

The preest[s] are shauen on y^e right side of ther head close to the scull only a litle locke lefft at y^e eare and sum of thes haue beards But y^e common people haue no beards at all for they pull away ther hares as fast as it growes. And they also cutt y^e heares on y^e right side of ther heade that it might not hinder them by flappinge about ther bow [53] stringe, when they draw it to shoott, But on y^e other side they lett it grow & haue a long locke hanginge doun ther shoulder. [54]

The Armor and weapon with discipline in war

AS for Armoure or dissipline in ware the[y] haue not any. The weapons they vse for offence are Bowes and Arrowes with a weapon like a hammer and ther Tomahaucks for defence which are shields made of the barke of a tree and hanged on ther lefft shoulder to couer that side as they stand forth to shoote

They neuer fight in open fields but always ether

[1609-10] amonge reede or behind trees taking ther oportunitie to shoot at ther enimies and [55] till they can nocke another arrow they make the trees ther defence

In y^e time that I was ther I sawe a Battell fought betwene the Patomeck and the Masomeck, ther place wher they fought was a marish ground full of Reede. Beinge in the country of the Patomecke the peopel of Masomeck weare brought thether in Canoes which is a kind of Boate they haue made in the forme of an Hoggs trrough But sumwhat more hollowed in, On Both sids they scatter them selues sum litle distant one from the other, then take they ther bowes and arrows and hauinge made ridie to shoot they softly steale toward ther enimies, Sumtime squattinge doun and priinge if they can spie any to shoot at whom if at any time he so Hurteth that he can not flee they make hast to him to knock him on the heade, And they that kill most of ther enimies are heald [56] the cheafest men amonge them; Drums and Trumpetts they haue none, but when they will gather themselues togither they haue a kind of Howlinge or Howbabub so differinge in sounde one from the other as both part may uery aesely be distingushed. Ther was no greater slawter of nether side But y^e massomecks hauing shott away most of ther arrows and wantinge Vitall [was] weare glad to retier ; [57]

The Pastimes



Hen they meet at feasts or otherwise they vse sprotts much like to ours heare in England as ther daunsinge, which is like our darbysher Hornepipe a man first and then a woman, and so through them all, hanging all in a round, ther is one which stand in the midest with a pipe and a rattell with which when he beginns to make a noyes all the rest Gigetts about wriinge ther neckes and stampinge on ye ground

They vse beside football play, which wemen and young boyes doe much play at. The men neuer They make ther Gooles as ours [58] only they neuer fight nor pull one another doun.

The men play with a litel balle lettinge it fall out of ther hand and striketh it with the tope of his foot, and he that can strike the ball furthest winns that they play for.

V.

JO deny the truth of the POCOHONTAS incident is to create more difficulties than are involved in its acceptance.

Ten men (p. 14) left James town, on the 10th of December 1607, p. lxv, in the barge, for the discovery of the head waters of the Chickahominy, six only of these returned with the barge, three of the others were slain to the certain knowledge of all the Colony, Why then was JOHN SMITH not slain too?

He had left seven in the barge at Apocant,
With expresse chaire not any [one] to go ashore til my returne. p. 14.

But hee was not long absent, but his men went a shore, whose want of government gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages to surprise one *George Cassen*, whom they slew and much failed not to haue cut off[the boat and all the rest. p. 395.

The Salvages hauing drawne from *George Cassen* whether Captaine Smith was gone, prosecuting that opportunity they followed him with. 300. bowmen, conducted by the King of *Pamavnee*, who in diuisions searching the turnings of the riuver, found *Robinson* and *Emry* by the fire side: those they shot full of arrowes and slew. pp. 395-6.

It will be seen at pp. li, lvi, lxxi, lxxii, how many of the colonists had already been slain by the Indians, and the frightful death to which they afterwards subjected *GEORGE CASSEN*, described at pp. 82, 377, is but an example of their innate ferocity.

Supposing then that the account of the POCOHONTAS incident to be altogether untrue, from first to last; how is the return of SMITH with POWHATAN's favour to be accounted for, when each of the other three men that came into the power of the Indians at the same time, perished? Up to the very moment he arrived at the Fort, our Author momentarily expected death, p. 401. Evidently some interposition had occurred in his favour, and his own relation of that interposition was strikingly confirmed by the appearance and presents of the hitherto unknown young Indian girl.

James towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres [1608-9], she next vnder God, was still the instrument to preserue this Colonie from death, famine and vtter confusion; which if in those times, [it] had once beene dissoluued, *Virginia* might haue line [*lain*] as it was at our first arriuall to this day. pp. 531-2, see also pp. 401, 403.

Every man in the Colony therefore must have believed SMITH's account of her rescue, when he thus saw POCOHONTAS and her supplies of food. The subsequent uniform and unwearied friendship shewn by the Indian girl to the colony at large, and to SMITH in particular, is the strongest possible confirmation of his narrative; and is otherwise quite inexplicable. Indeed his story was never questioned in his lifetime.

The incident itself is not an extraordinary one in the sequence of recorded hairbreadth escapes from Indian tribes. POWHATAN, a polygamist, nearly sixty years of age in 1608, p. 80, 376; with no special love for any one woman, and none of whose sons can be heir to his throne, having also by no wife more than one child, p. cviii, has constantly fixed his heart on a pet child (like an old man's grandchild with us); so that when POCOHONTAS was taken in April 1613, he chose another of twelve years old, which he sold for "two bushels of Rawrenoake," p. 518, respecting whom he said in 1614, "he delighted in none so much as shee, whom if he could not often behold, he could not possibly live, which living with us he could not do," p. 519. There was nothing miraculous in POWHATAN's thus yielding to the solicitations of such a pet child.

On the whole, therefore, we see no occasion to doubt the two accounts given by our Author of this peril.

1616.

At the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to saue mine; and not onely that, but so preuailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to *James* towne: where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sick creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of *Virginia*; such was the weaknesse of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Saluages not fed vs, we directly had starued. And this relief, most gracious Queene, was commonly brought vs by this Lady *Pocuhontas*. p. 531.

1624.

Having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before *Powhatan*: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, *Pocahontas* the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his to saue him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he shold lie to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him aswell of all occupations as themselves. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes, bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest. p. 400.

In fact, the only possible way of resisting the story is to regard Captain SMITH as a confirmed liar; which is quite contrary to everything we know of him.

Savages have often shewn such sudden revulsion of feeling; and POWHATAN before that year 1608 was out, returned to his frenzied attempts to kill SMITH; who seemed to him and his tribe, to bear a charmed life among them.

At the time of the rescue, SMITH was about 28 years of age, and POCOHONTAS about 13. It is quite clear that there was no love affair between them. He astonished her with his wonderful knowledge, and won her friendship with kindness, and gifts of things that to her seemed very precious. He looked upon her goodwill as a political factor for the salvation of the Colony, and with the high notions of kingship prevailing in his day, he considered himself beneath her in social position; for when, at Brentford in Middlesex, in 1616, she *would* call him *father* (not *sweetheart*, or even *friend*), he writes—

Which though I would haue excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter. p. 533.

W. PHETTIPLACE who certainly, and R. POTS who probably, arrived at James town on the evening of the day (8 January 1608) on which SMITH arrived from Weiowocomoco, pp. lxxxvi, 101, 404, and who therefore were personally acquainted with the entire connection of POCOHONTAS with the Colony, thus rebut this out of the many *foul slanders* that followed their beloved Captain home.

Some propheticall spirit calculated [that] hee had the Salvages in such subiection, hee would haue made himselfe a king, by marrying *Pocahontas*, *Powhatans* daughter. (It is true she was the very Nomparell of his kingdome, and at most not past 13 or 14 yeares of age. Very oft shee came to our fort, with what shee could get for Captaine Smith; that ever loued and vsed all the Countrie well, but her especially he ever much respected; and she so well requited it, that when her father intended to haue surprized him, shee by stealth in the darke night came through the wild woods and told him of it [p. 455]. But her marriage could no way haue intituled him by any right to the kingdome, nor was it ever suspected hee had ever such a thought; or more regarded her, or any of them, than in honest reason and discretion he might. If he would, he might haue married her, or haue done what him listed; for there was none that could haue hindred his determination.) pp. 168-9.

As to the argument that this Deliverance is not true, because it is not mentioned in the *True Relation* of 1608; it need only be said, that that *Relation* was not intended for publication by SMITH. It is clear from the foregoing pieces at pp. xxviii-xci that *very many* written Relations must have gone home with NEWPORT in June 1607, and again in his second return in April 1608; as this particular one by SMITH, did in Captain NELSON's *Phænix*, in June 1608. Of them all, SMITH's was the only one that came to the press, and that not by his own act. I. H., who edited it, confesses that "somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought fit to be private, I would not adventure to make it public," p. 4. But these probably refer to the details of his 13 weeks' false imprisonment, and to his narrow escape from being hanged at Nevis, p. 910 and not to his personal adventures with the savages. We are quite content to suppose he never mentioned the POCOHONTAS incident at all in the manuscript from which this abridged *Relation* was printed, as also that he may not have mentioned OPECHANCAOUGH's previous deliverance of him, when he was tied to the tree to be shot, p. 396.

Mr WILLIAM WIRTHENRY, of Richmond, Va., has, in his *Address to the Virginia Historical Society*, on 24 Feb 1882, furnished answers to many points of attack on our Author's veracity but we will not avail ourselves of them. We only say, on general grounds, *non sequitur* (the circumstances considered) to any argument that would assert that *all* that occurred *must*, of necessity, have been recorded in SMITH's manuscript narration; or else it did not occur. In confirmation of this, we may point to the variations (but not contradictions) in the two Relations extending over *not more than the week*, 21-27 May 1607, of the same boat expedition up the James river. the one by Captain Archer at pp. xl-lii, the other by the Hon. G. PERCY, at pp. lxviii-lxix. And it is only popular ignorance of his career that has fastened upon SMITH's danger at Werowocomoco as the chief peril of his life, and which has therefore exaggerated its importance far beyond his own opinion of it. The marvel is that he wrote so much and so well, while the *Phœnix* was loading for home, in May, 1608, under the pressure of so many other things on hand, pp. 34-39: and the personal self-forgetfulness with which it is written is only characteristic of the man.

To conclude, then, it would seem that the advent of SMITH was a momentous event in POCOHONTAS's life, but a very small one in his own; so small indeed that he did not see occasion to dwell upon it. They saw one another occasionally over a period of at most 21 months; between January 1608, to the date of his return home 4 October 1609: after which, she never visited Jamestown till ARGAL brought her thither, as a State prisoner, in April 1613.

POCAHONTAS will ever be a most interesting character. She was, under GOD, the means of keeping the Colony alive. She admired, perhaps revered, SMITH; but as PHETTIPLACE and POTS wrote in 1612, "nor was it ever suspected he . . . more regarded her, or any of them, than in honest reason and discretion he might," p. 169.

Mr. CHARLES DEANE (who has done so much and so well towards the reproduction of our Author's Works) is responsible for the attack on SMITH's veracity as regards the POCOHONTAS incident, by the notes to his reprint of *The True Relation*, in 1866. Mr. H. B. ADAMS, in his review of the same, in the *North American Review*, No. 204, January 1867, is a study of SMITH's life and work, upside down.

Our American friends seem sometimes to fall into the error of considering any newly-found manuscript as of greater authority than the old printed books: thus WINGFIELD is opposed to SMITH; and yet that there is no contradiction in his recrimination, to our Author's text, the reader may see for himself, as we have reprinted the *Discourse of Virginia* at pp. lxxiv-xci. In like manner, STRACHEY, who arrived in the Colony in June 1610, is opposed to SMITH, who left on the 4 October 1609, as to the conduct of POCOHONTAS anterior to October 1609. So, Mr. DEANE's reprinting of the *True Relation* was like the bringing to light of a lost manuscript. He did quite right in pointing out its variation from the *General History*: and any doubt he may have raised will be set at rest by the present edition. Precision and scientific accuracy is not to be found in *any* of the nine books forming the present Text; but of the unspotted integrity of the writer, and of the care and moderation with which he wrote, there is therein, we think, abundant testimony. As he says himself, at p. 622,

I thanke God I neuer vndertooke any thing yet [wherein] any could tax me of carelesnesse or dishonesty, and what is hee to whom I am indebted or troublesome?

V I .

 OR the story of those first thirty months of the James river Settlement, we must refer the reader to the Text itself. It is brim full of fascinating interest, but this Volume consists rather of materials for a Biography of a Life than the History of a Colony, so we pass on.

Two points only we shall add.

Major JED. HOTCHKISS, Consulting Mining Engineer, Staunton, Va., U.S.A., who is the greatest living authority on the geography of that State, thus writes, under date of October 5, 1883. "I am sorry to say that about the only information we have concerning the location of Indian tribes at the time of the settlement of Virginia is to be found on SMITH's Map—a marvel of results in representation of outline compared with the time occupied in procuring information. The same region is shewn on the small map I send you, from the actual surveys of a century [1774-1874], yet SMITH had all the important features of our wonderfully developed coast well shewn."

There is an interesting connection between our Author and HENRY HUDSON the navigator, of whom he speaks so highly in 1614, at pp. 191, 704.

After he discovered Chesapeake Bay, SMITH evidently sent to HUDSON, with the third return of Captain NEWPORT, about November 1608, a duplicate of the "Mappe of the Bay and Rivers" (p. 444), which he then sent to the Council in London, under cover of the letter printed at p. 442. NEWPORT reached London in January 1609, p. xcii, soon after which HUDSON went to Holland, from whence he set sail on his Third voyage on 25 March 1609 (G. M. ASHER, *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, p. ccx, Hakluyt Soc. 1860).

EMANUEL VAN METEREN, in his *Historie der Neder-Lanscher*, states, "This idea had been suggested to HUDSON by some letters and maps which his friend Captain SMITH had sent him from Virginia; and by which he informed him that there was a sea leading to the Western Ocean by the north of the southern English colony" (fol. 629, Ed. 1614; and at fol. 674 of the French edition 1618).

V I I .

 Ur Author seems to have returned home from Virginia, by December 1609; thereby escaping the peril of *The Starving Time*, as that dreadful winter in the Colony was called. So far, therefore, as he was concerned, his laceration by gunpowder was a merciful Providence to him; as he would have probably perished that winter in the Colony; if not from mutinies, from starvation.

Then for two years he is quiet. He is waiting and watching. He makes no public vindication of his Governorship and the true service he "and his party" had rendered to the Colony, until the English Settlement there is on an assured footing.

Then the *Map of Virginia* appears in 1612, containing first his own Map and full Description of the country: and next the Vindication of himself and his party, condensed by the Rev. Dr. SIMMONDS from the interrogatories of survivors and the writings of the dead, and written with a strong self-restraint, considering that most, if not all, the other side were known, by this time, to have perished in the colony. Dr SIMMONDS wrote at the end of this summary.

Captaine Smith I returne you the fruit of my labours, as Master Croshaw requested me, which I bestowed in reading the discourses, and hearing the relations of such which haue walked and

observed the land of *Virginia* with you. The pains I took was great: yet did the nature of the argument, and hopes I conceaued of the expedition, give me exceeding content. I cannot finde there is any thing, but what they all affirme, or cannot contradict. p. 174.

It is very singular indeed that this book, the *Map of Virginia* should have come from the Oxford press; which did not usually produce books of travel.

As Virginian matters progressed, the Council in London broke up into factions.

One of the most important private collections of papers relating to Virginia, Eermuda, &c., is in the possession of the Duke of MANCHESTER. Mr. L. OWEN PIKE's catalogue of them will be found in the *Appendix* (Part II.) to the *Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, London, 1881.

Mr. PIKE states—"The Virginia Company about the year 1619 was becoming divided into two hostile factions, the chief leaders in which were to be, on the one side, the Earl of WARWICK, Sir NATHANIEL RICH, and Alderman JOHNSON; and on the other side, the Earl of SOUTHAMPTON, Lord CAVENDISH, and Sir EDWARD SACKVILLE. One party supported Sir THOMAS SMITH, who had been Governor or Treasurer of the Company for the previous twelve years [1606-1618], the other Sir EDWIN SANDYS, who was elected his successor. The papers formerly in the State Paper Office represent, in the main, the case of Sir E. SANDYS; the papers in the Duke of MANCHESTER's collection represent, but far more in detail, the case of Sir J. SMITH" p. 4.

Captain SMITH briefly refers to these factions at p. 784. He kept out of them altogether, and speaks of the leaders of both sides with an equal respect.

With the publication of this Vindication, SMITH practically turned away from Virginian matters; which had now passed into the hands of Peers of the Realm, like Lord DEL AWARE, and other Noblemen and Gentlemen, far above the rank of a mere Army Captain. He and his work were slenderly regarded. While therefore he continued deeply interested in every part of the English colonizing movement; he now turned his personal efforts towards Norumbega, "when nothing was knowne, but that there was a vast Land." pp. 242-3, 266, 771.

On 2 May 1621, our Author petitioned, apparently without success, the Virginia Company for a reward, "as he hath not onely aduentured money for the good of the Plantacion, and twise built *James Towne*, and fower other particular Plantacions, as he alledgedeth; but for that he discouered the countrey, and relcaued the Colony willingly three yeares with that which he gott from the Sauages with great perill and hazard of his life." NEILL, *History &c* p. 215, Ed. 1869.

C. NEW ENGLAND, 1613-1619 A.D.

VIII.

And of all the four parts of the World that I have yet seen, not inhabited, could I have but means to transport a Colony, I would rather live here [*between Pennobscot and Cape Cod in New England*], than anywhere.

J. SMITH, 1616, p. 193



Aptain SMITH, in 1614, spent 80 days on the Coast of New England, from Pennobscot to Cape Cod, viz., from 30 April to 18 July both inclusive, p. 256; so that he was, in all, about 32 months on the American Continent, from first to last.

He made an astonishingly good use of his time. For though he

failed to found a colony himself; he shewed the way to others, as the Pilgrim Fathers of 1620, pp. 749, 892, 941, 943, and the Massachusetts Planters of 1629-30 pp. 926, 947, 950.

He however established the fishing at Monahigan, pp. 206, 720, or within a square of two or three leagues of it, pp. 244, 268, 773. which brought into the realm, with the furs obtained by traffic with the Indians, £100,000 [=£300,000 now] within ten years, p. 784.

Sea-fishing, with him, was but the stepping stone to Colonization. How eloquently he writes of it! how reasonable and practical are his suggestions!

And lastly in 1630, he wrote—

Thus you may plainly see, although many envying [that] I should bring so much from thence, where many others had beene; and some, the same yeare, returned with nothing, reported the Fish and Bevers I brought home, I had taken from the French men of *Canada*, to discourage any from beleeving me, and excuse their owne misprisons: some onely to have concealed this good Country (as is said) to their private use; others taxed me as much of indiscretion, to make my discoveries and designes so publike for nothing, which might have beene so well managed by some concealers, to have beene all rich ere any had knowne of it.

Those, and many such like wise rewards, have beene my recompences; for which I am contented, so the Country prosper, and Gods Name bee there praised by my Countrymen, I have my desire. p. 944.

In 1618, our Author wrote in a little manuscript book by the hand of a scrivener, the germ of *New England Trials* of 1620, with the following,

Letter to Lord BACON.

[*State Papers, Colonial (1574-1621)* Vol. I, No. 42]

To the Right Honorable Sir *ffrances Bacon*, Knight, Baron of *Verolan* and Lord High Chauncellor of *England*.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

Having noe better meanes to acquaint your Lordship with my meaning than this paper, the zeale love and dutie to God, my Countrie and your honor, I humbly craue may be my apologie.

This 19 yeares [1599-1618] I haue encountered noe fewe dangers to learne what here I write in these fewe leaves, and though the lines they containe are more iudely phrased then is meete for the viewe of so great a iudgement, their fruites I am certayne may bring both wealth and honor for a Crowne and a Kingdom to his Maiesties

posterity./ The profitts already returned with so small charge and facilitie according to proportion emboldens me to say it./

With a stock of 5000*l* I durst venture to effect it, though more than 10000*l* hath bene spent in *Virginia* and the *Barmudas* to small purpose, about the procuring whereof many good men knowes I haue spent noe small tyme labor nor mony: but all in vaine. Notwithstanding within these fower years [1614-18] I have occasioned twice 5000*l* to be employed that way. But great desyres to ingross it, hath bred so many particular humors, as they have their willes, I the losse, and the generall good the wrong./

Should I present it to the *Biskayneis*, *French*, or *Hollanders*, they have made me large offers. But nature doth binde me thus to begg at home, whome strangers have pleased to make a Commander abroad. The busines being of such consequence, I hold it but my duty to acquaint it to your Honor, knowing you are not only a cheife Patron of your Countrie and state, but also the greatest favourer of all good designes and their Authors.

Noe more, but humbly beseeching your goodnes to pardon my rudenes, and ponder my plaine meaning in the ballance of goodwill, I leave the substance to the discretion of your most admired judgement, ever resting Your honors ever most truely devoted,

[This signature is autographic.] J o S M I T H .

Then follows the substance, up to year 1618, of *New Englands Trials* 1620, with the following paragraphs omitted in that tract.

The worstis of these 16. shippes. 20r three of them have bene taken by Pyrates, which hath putt such feare in poore fishermen, whose powers are but weake. And the desyre of gaine in Marchants so violent : every one so regarding his private, that it is worse then slaveye to follow any publique good, and impossible to bring them into a bodye, rule, or order, vnles it be by some extraordinary power. But if his Maiestie would please to be perswaded to spare vs but a Pinnace, to lodge my men in and defend us and the Coast from such invasions, the space of eight or tenn monethes only till we were seated [*i.e.*, the colony settled in *New England*], I would not doubt but ere long to drawe the most part of *Newfound Land* men to assist us, if I could be so provided but in due season : for now ere the Savages grow subtle and the Coast be too much frequented with strangers, more may be done with 20*l* than hereafter with a 100*l*. . . .

How I haue lived, spent my tyme and bene employed, I am

not ashamed who will examine. Therefore I humbly beseech your Honour, seriously to consider of it; and lett not the povertie of the Author cause the action to be lesse respected, who desyres noe better fortune than he could find there./

In the interim I humbly desyre your Honour would be pleased to grace me with the title of your Lordships servant. Not that I desyre to shut vpp the rest of my dayes in the chamber of ease and idlenes, but that thereby I may be the bester countenanced for the prosecution of this my most desyred voyage : for had I the Patronage of so mature a iudgment as your Honors, it would not only induce those to beleive what I know to be true in this matter, who will now hardly vouchsafe the perusall of my Relations, but also be a meanes to further it to the vttermost of their powers with their purses.

And I shal be ever ready to spend both life and goods for the honor of my Country, and your Lordships service. With which resolucion I doe in all humility rest,

At your Honors service

It is to be regretted that this application was not successful.

It is quite clear, that our Author offereid to lead out the Pilgrim Fathers to America, and that they declined his services "to save charges," p. 941, "saying my books and maps were much better cheape to teach them, than my selfe," p. 892. We cannot think that this was the whole reason. In 1620, politics and religion in England usually went together, and there were thhee great Parties in the State, known as the Protestant, the Puritan, and the Papist. SMITH was a Protestant, and his argument at p. 959 for a strong ecclesiastical government, based on his experiences in Eastern Europe, is certainly a very reasonable one: but the Pilgrim Fathers were the "head and front" of the Puritan revolt against the Bishops. No doubt, our Author would have been supremely faithful to them; but he could not long have stood their independence of all religious authority.

Now since them called Brownists [*the Pilgrim Fathers*] went (some few before them also having my bookees and maps, presumed they knew as much as they desired). p. 946.

So that our Author exercised a great, though an indirect, influence on the colonizing enterprise of England from 1620-1630. Indeed it would seem that the influence of his pen was greater than the result of his personal actions. He grieved over his mishaps and ill-fortune in 1615 and 1617, but posterity may be glad that he never did get to New England again. That work was carried on by other hands. and we rejoice thereby to possess the *New Englands Trials*, 1620 and 1622, the *General History*, 1624, the *Accidence*, 1626, the *Travels*, 1629; and the *Advertisements*, 1630: all of which would never have come to the press, had not Man and Providence, the poltroons in 1615 and the three months' westerly wind in 1617, frustrated all his attempts to go and settle in Capawuck, pp. 205, 218, 732.

D. ADVOCATE AND HISTORIAN OF ENGLISH
COLONIZATION IN AMERICA, AND OF SEA
FISHERIES THERE AS A MEANS THERETO.

1619-1631 A.D.

I X.

My greatest error in this, is but a desire to do good which disease hath ever haunted me since my childhood, and all the miseries and ingratitudes I have endured, cannot yet divert me from that resolution.

J. SMITH, 1626, p. 788.

History is the memory of Time, the life of the Dead, and the happiness of the Living.

J. SMITH, 1630, p. 948

You may easily know them by their absoluteness in opinions, holding Experience but the mother of fools, which indeed is the very ground of Reason, and he that contemns her in those actions, may find occasion enough to use all the wit and wisdom he hath, to correct his own folly

J. SMITH, 1630, p. 956.

For my self, let Emulation and Envy cease! I ever intended my actions should be upright. now [ⁱⁿ the "General History"] my care hath been that my Relations should give every man they concern, his due

J. SMITH, 1624, p. 279.

 Now completely our Author identified himself with this Colonizing movement, from the intended voyage to the river Weapoco, in 1605, p. 896, to the last day of his life, is illustrated by the following passages

In 1622 he thus wrote—

Thus you may see plainly the yearlye successe from *New England* (by *Virginia*) which has bin so costly to this kingdome and so deare to me, which either to see perish or but bleed, pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modestie, to haue bin sufficiently able to foresee it, and had neither power nor meanes how to preuent it. By that acquaintance I haue with them, I may call them my children; for they haue bin my wife, my hawks, my hounds, my cards, my dice, and in totall my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right: and notwithstanding all those miracles of disasters [that] haue crossed both them and me, yet were there not one English man remaining (as God be thanked there is some thousands) I would yet begin againe with as small means as I did at the first. Not for that I haue any secret encouragement from any I protest, more then lamentable experiences: for all their discoueries I can yet heare of, are but pigs of my owne sowe; . . . except the relations of Master *Di mcr.* p. 265.

Again, in 1629, he wrote—

Those Countries Captaine *Smith* oft times used to call his children that never had mother; and well he might, for few fathers ever payed deale for so little content; and for those that

would truly understand, how many strange accidents hath befallen them and him; how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere desperate, and ere long flourishing, cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercies and favours towards them. p. 893.

And thus it was, that to carry on the Colonizing Effort he undertook his *General History*.

The following Minute of the London Virginia Company at p. 210 of M^r. E. D. NEILL'S *History*, Ed. 1869 (see p. xxviii) is the earliest information we have of our Author's largest Work.

April 12, 1621. Mr. Smith moued, that for so much as ye lottaries were now suspended, which hitherto had continued the reall and substantiall food, by which *Virginia* hath been nourished, that insteade thereof shee might be now preserued by divulging faire and good report as shee and her worthy vndertakers did well deserve: declaring that it could not but much advance the Plantacion in the popular opinion of the Common Subjects to haue a faire and perspicuous history, compiled of that Country, from her first discouery to this day: and to haue the memory and fame of many of their worthies, though they be dead, to liue and be transmitted to all posterite; as namely: Sir *Thomas Dale*, Sir *George Somers*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, the Lord *De-la-warr*, Sir *Thomas Gates*, and diuers others whereunto were it not for suspition of flattery, he would wish also the name of many her other worthies yet liuinge, and some of them now present in Court, might haue also their honorable and good deseruinge commended to eternall thankfullness; for that our inabilities had as yet no treuer coyne, wherewith to recompense their paines and merritt. Affirming also, that the best now planted parts of *America* under the Spanish government, nor their Annals or histories of those times, in their like age of ours, nowe 12 years [1609-1621] old *Virginia* afforded better matter of relacion than *Virginia* hath donn: and doth. With what effect such a generall history, (deduced to the life to this yeare), would worke throughout the Kingdome, with the generall and common subject, may be gathered by the little pamphletts or declaracions lately printed [*i.e.*, by the London *Virginia Company*]. And besides fewe succeedinge yeares would soon consume the lives of many whose livinge memories yet retayned much, and devour those letters and intelligences which yet remaine in loose and neglected papers. For which boldness, in mouinge hereof, he prayed his Lordships pardon, ledd herunto upon the request of some fellows of the Generallity.

A copy of the four-page Prospectus intended for the Nobility and Gentry of the *General History* is No. 209 of the Collection of Broadsides of the Society of Antiquaries of London. It was evidently issued in 1623, which according to the old way of reckoning would extend to the 24 March 1624. It begins thus:

¶ The generall History of *Virginia*, the *Somer Iles*, and *New England*, with the names of the Aduenturers, and their aduentures. Also a Catalogue of their names who were the first Treasurers heere, and planters and Gouernours there; and how they haue yeerely succeeded, from their first beginning 1584. to this present 1623. with the proceedings of these seuerall Colonies, and the accidents that befell them in all their iourneys and discoueries, with the Mappes and descriptions of those countries, commodities, people, gouernment, customes, and Religion yet knowne, for the generall good of all them who belong to those Plantations and all their posterities.

Discouered, obserued, or collected by Captaine I o . S M I T H
*sometime Gouernour of Virginia, and Admirall of
New England.*

Then follow in two columns of small type, the intended Contents of the book, pretty nearly as we have in the Text at pp. 289-300.

At the top of the fourth page, the Prospectus thus concludes.

JHese obscurations are all I haue for the expences of a thousand pound, and the losse of eightene yeeres of time, besides all the trauels, dangers, miseries and incumbrances for my countries good, I haue endured gratis: and had I not discouered and liued in the most of these parts, I could not possibly haue collected the substantiall trueth from such an infinite number of variable Relations, that would make a volume of at least a thousand sheetes: and this is composed in lesse then eighty sheets, besides the three Maps, whch will stand me neere in an hundred pounds, which summe I cannot disbursse: nor shall the Stationers haue the copy [manuscript] for nothing. Therfore I humbly entreat your Honour, either to aduenture, or giue me what you please towards the impression, and I will be both accountable and thankful; not doubting but that the Story will giue you satisfaction, and stirre vp a double new life in the Aduenturers, when they shall see plainlye the causes of all those defairements, and how they may be amended.
And so I humbly rest.

[No printed name. It was evidently intended to be personally signed by SMITH himself.]

X.

VEry touching is the Poem at p. 922 on his own career, likening himself to a *Sea Mark*. Still, a devout Christian all his life, as he gets older his language becomes one of thankfulness to Almighty GOD ; and his style is often very Biblical.

With two Summaries of his career by himself, we conclude.

In 1629, he wro^te,

Now to conclude the travels and adventures of Captaine *Smith*; how first he planted *Virginia*, and was set ashore with about an hundred men in the wilde woods; how he was taken prisoner by the Savages, by the King of *Pamaunke* tied to a tree to be shot to death, led up and downe their Country to be shewed for a wonder; fatted as he thought, for a sacrifice for their *Idoll*; before whom they conjured him three dayes, with strange dances and invocations; then brought him before their Emperor *Powhatan*, that commanded him to be slaine; how his daughter *Pocahontas* saved his life, returned him to *James* towne, releaved him and his famished company, which was but eight and thirty to possesse those large dominions; how he discovered all the severall nations upon the rivers falling into the Bay of *Chisapeacke*; stung neere to death with a most poysoned taile of a fish called *Stingray*: how [he drave] *Powhatan* out of his Country, tooke the Kings of *Pamaunke* and *Paspahegh* prisoners, forced thirty nine of those Kings to pay him contribution, [and] subjected all the Savages: how *Smith* was blowne up with gunpowder, and returned for *England* to be cured :

Also how hee brought our new *England* to the subjection of the Kingdome of great *Britaine*; his fights with the *Pirats*, left alone amongst a many *French* men of Warre, and his ship ran from him; his Sea-fights for the *French* against the *Spaniards*, their bad usage of him, how in *France* in a little boat he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy night at Sea by himselfe, when thirteene *French* ships were split, or driven on shore by the Ile of *Ree*, the generall and most of his men drowned, when God to whom be all honour and praise, brought him safe on shore to all their admirations that escaped: you may read at large in his generall history of *Virginia*, the *Summer Isles*, and *New England*. pp. 911-912.

And again in 1630, his heart overflows in this, our final quotation :

Now if you but truly consider how many strange accidents have befallen those plantations and my selfe; how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere despaire, and ere long flourishing; how many scandals and Spanolized English have sought to disgrace

them, bring them to ruine, or at least hinder them all they could; how many have shaven and couzened both them and me, and their most honourable supporters and well-willers: [you] cannot but conceive God's infinite mercy both to them and me.

Having beene a slave to the Turks, prisoner amongst the most barbarous Salvages, after my deliverance commonly discovering and ranging those large rivers and unknowne Nations with such a handfull of ignorant companions that the wiser sort often gave mee [up] for lost, alwayes in mutinies [*i.e., of others*] wants and miseries, blowne up with gunpowder; A long time [a] prisoner among the French Pyrats, from whom escaping in a little boat by my selfe, and adrift all such a stormy winter night, when their ships were split, more than a hundred thousand pound [=£400,000 now] lost [which] they had taken at sea, and most of them drowned upon the Ile of *Ree*, not farre from whence I was driven on shore in my little boat &c. And many a score of the worst of winter moneths [have] lived in the fields: yet to have lived near 37. yeares [1593-1630] in the midst of wars, pestilence and famine, by which many an hundred thousand have died about mee, and scarce five living of them [that] went first with me to *Virginia*: and [yet to] see the fruits of my labours thus well begin to prosper: though I have but my labour for my paines, have I not much reason both privately and publikely to acknowledge it and give God thankes, whose omnipotent power onely delivered me, to doe the utmost of my best to make his name knowne in those remote parts of the world, and his loving mercy to such a miserable sinner. pp. 944-945.

At length, while his thoughts are engaged on yet another Work, his *History of the Sea*, he dies, somewhat suddenly, at the comparatively early age of 51 on the 21 June 1631, and was buried at St. Sepulchre's Church, London. His Will and Epitaph will be found at pp. 969-72.

X I.

 He reader of the foregoing will now be able rightly to understand what manner of man CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH was; will have read most of what was written against him, in his own day; will be able to distinguish the malice from the truth, and will thus come to share our own high regard for his character, and admiration of his work.

Whenever generous spirits served under him, they learned to love and admire the man: as witness herein, Ensign CARLTON and Sergeant ROBINSON in Transylvania in 1603, pp. 230-231; the brothers PHETTIPLACE, and RICHARD WIFFING, p. 185; ISAAC CODRINGTON, p. 181: RALEIGH CRASHAW, p. 184; who, with others of the thirty or forty gentlemen under him, saved Virginia.

So, at length, posterity will learn to do the like; and see in him a noble example of what a Christian Gentleman and Officer may be, may do, and may endure.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE EPIC PERIOD OF THE JAMES RIVER SETTLEMENT.

26 April 1607—10 July 1609.

Now this our young Commonwealth in Virginia, as you have read, once consisted but of 38 persons, and in two years increased but to 200. If we truly consider our proceedings with the Spaniards and the rest, we have no reason to despair, for, with so small charge, they never had either greater discoveries, with such certain trials of more several commodities, than, in this short time, hath been returned from Virginia, and by much less means.

R POTS, W TANKARD, the Hon G PERCY, p. 488

However some bad conditions will extol the actions of any nation but their own; yet if we may give credit to the Spaniards', Portugals' and French's writings, they endured many miseries, and yet not in twenty years effected so much, nay, scarce in forty.

J. SMITH, p. 769.

MHAT were the precise numbers in the Colony before the arrival of ARGAL'S ship about 10 July, and of the Third Supply or reinforcement in the following month of August 1609?

SMITH, in 1624, wrote to the Royal Commissioners,

We had but six ships to transport and supply vs, and but two hundred sevnty seven men, boies, and women, p. 612.

According to the figures below, the number should be 295; but as they are round numbers, and SMITH was here writing deliberately and at leisure, the 277 is probably correct. We have marked the six ships (1), (2), (3), &c

The *Instructions* of 1606, p. xxxv, contemplated the number of Colonists to be sent out at "six score men."

PURCHAS, *Pilgrimes* iv. 1705, Ed. 1625, thus enumerates the first Expedition

(1) <i>Susan Constant</i> , 100 tons, Admiral [e., flag ship], Captain NEWPORT, with	71
(2) <i>God speed</i> , 40 tons, Vice Admiral, Captain B. GOSNOLD, with	52
(3) A Pinnace, 20 tons, Rear Admiral, Captain J. RATCLIFFE, with	21

¹⁴⁴

All these we take to be the Colonists (exclusive of Sailors) that left England in December 1606. PERCY states, p. 1x, that on 4 April 1607, at the Isle of Virgins, they numbered "eight score persons." This we take to include Sailors, as well as Colonists, some of the latter having died.

If the Colonists then originally numbered on 4 April 1607,
there had died, or returned, by 22 June 1607
For, on that day, NEWPORT left in the Settlement

¹⁴⁴

39

—105

p. 93; 104, p. lxx;
100, p. 389

p. lxxvi, 9, 391.

There died of these before the arrival of the First Supply	67	¹⁴⁴
So that, on the morning of 8 Jan 1608, the Colony consisted of	38	
(4) 8 Jan. 1608, the first part of First Supply arrived in Captain NEWPORT's ship	38	p. lxxvi, 402, 488, 531, 611, 912.
(5) 20 April 1608, the second part arrived in Captain NELSON's <i>Phoenix</i>	38	p. lxxvi, 23, 100, 403.
Total First Supply	120	p. 33, 105, 409. p. 107, 411

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BIBLIOGRAPHY.

THE reader of this Bibliography will but share our admiration of the scholarship, and reprinting efforts over more than the last quarter of a century. In this early Colonial literature (as in so many other periods of American literature), of that most distinguished American scholar, CHARLES DEANE, Esquire, of Cambridge, Massa., U.S.A.; who hitherto has done more than any man living, to perpetuate the name and fame of Captain JOHN SMITH.

Mr. DEANE was the proper person to have brought out this Collected Edition of Captain SMITH's *Works*; and we would have urged him thereto: but that we thought an English edition with an English editor, would ensure a more ready recognition of our Author in his native land, and would therefore better secure the special object we have in view, viz., the restoration of his Writings, for ever, to the general modern literature of Great Britain and her colonies.

A true Relation &c. 1608.

- 1 [August] 1608. London, 4to See title at p. 1 B M pressmark, C 33 c. 35; G 7121.
- 2 1608 Boston, Massa., 4to *A true Relation of Virginia* by Captain JOHN SMITH. With an Introduction and Notes by CHARLES DEANE. 315 copies printed B M pressmark, 9602. bbb.
- 3 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo *The English Scholar's Library*. The present impression.

A Map of Virginia &c. 1612.

- 1 1612. Oxford, 4to See title at p. 41 B M pressmark, C. 33. c. 18, G. 7120.
- 2 1625 London, fol Rev. S PURCHAS, *Pilgrimes* An abridgement of the *Map of Virginia* occurs in Vol II. B M pressmark, 679. h. 12.
- 3 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo *The English Scholar's Library*. The present impression.

A Description of New England &c. 1616.

- 1 [3-18 June] 1616 London, 4to See title at p. 175 B M pressmarks, C 13 a. 11 (2), C 33 c. 12, G. 7122
- 2 1617 Frankfort, 4to LEVINS HULSIUS. *A Description forms the XIV. Voyage.*
- 3 1707 Leyden, 8vo P VAN DER AA. *Naukeurige Versameling* Vol 102, contains an abridgement of *A Description &c.* B M. pressmark, 979. f. 2 (5)
- 4 1837 Boston, Massa., U.S.A., 8vo *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* 3rd Series Vol VI contains *A Description &c.* B M. pressmark, Ac. 8400.
- 5 1838 Washington, D C, U.S.A., 8vo PETER FORCE, *Collection of Historical Tracts. A Description &c.* is the first tract in Vol. II. B M. pressmark, 1324. g
- 6 1865. Boston, Massa., U.S.A., 4to *A Description of New England; Observations and Discoveries in the North of America in the year of our Lord 1614. With the Success of six Ships that went the next year, 1615.* By Captain JOHN SMITH (Admiral of that Country). With a Facsimile of the Original Map. [See p. cxlv.] 250 copies printed Published by WILLIAM VEALIE. The Preface to this reprint was written by CHARLES DEANE, Esq., in the name of the Publisher. B M. pressmark, 10411. dd.
- 7 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo *The English Scholar's Library*. The present impression.

New England's Trials. 1620.

- 1 [Dec] 1620 London, 4to See title at p. 233. B M. pressmark, C. 33. c. 15.
- 2 [July] 1873 Cambridge, Mass., 4to *New England's Trials* written by Captain JOHN SMITH. A reprint of the rare first edition of 1620. With a Prefatory Note by CHARLES DEANE. The Preface is dated 1 July 1873. 50 copies printed. B.M. pressmark, 10408 bb.
- 3 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo *The English Scholar's Library*. The present impression.

New England's Trials. 1622.

- 1 [October] 1622 London, 4to See title at p. 240, and passage fixing the month in which it was written at p. 264. B M. pressmarks, C 33 c. 5, 106r a 121 (3), G. 7197
- 2 1638 Washington, D C, U S A, 8vo PETER FORCE, *Collection of Historical Traits. New England's Trials. 1622* is the second Tract in Vol. II. B.M. pressmark, 1324 g.
- 3 [April] 1867 Providence, R I, U S A *New England's Trials 1622* A facsimile reprint issued by the late Mr JOHN CARTER BROWN, with the following prefatory note
"The interest connected with all the writings of Captain JOHN SMITH, has induced the owner of the present tract, one of the rarest and least known of his publications, to print a few copies for distribution among the collectors of books relating to America.
"The reprint is a facsimile, page for page, including the wood-cut ornaments, of the original, which is the second edition No copy of the first edition has fallen under the notice of the possessor of the present copy" J C B
Providence, R I, April 1867 60 copies printed B M pressmark, 10410 f.
- 4 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo *The English Scholar's Library* The present impression

The General History of Virginia, Summer Isles, and New England 1624.

- 1 [July] 1624 London, fol. (a) See title on engraved frontispiece, which, in this present impression, forms a folding plate opposite p. 272 B M pressmark, G 7037.
". The engravings of the Duchess of RICHMOND and MATOAKA (p. cxlvii) did not form parts of this original edition
- 2 1626. London, fol. (b) *Title edition only* The same text issued with a fresh title page B M pressmark, 601 1 8
- 3 1627. London, fol. (c) *Title edition only.* B M pressmark, 601 1 9
- 4 1632. London, fol. (d) *Title edition only.* B M. pressmark, 984 f 17.
- 5 1632. London, fol. (e) *Title edition only.* B M pressmark, 147 d 2
- 6 1812. London, 4to. J PINKERTON. *A general Collection of Voyages &c* Vol. 13 contains the *General History* B M pressmark, 2057 d
- 7 1819. Richmond, Va., U S A, 8vo The *General History* is inserted in the midst of a reprint of the *True Travels* B M pressmark, 1447 g 17
- 8 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo. *The English Scholar's Library*. The present impression

An Accidence for the Sea, 1626, or The Seaman's Grammar, 1627.

There are two Versions of this Work. The earlier one as SMITH wrote it, and here printed at pp. 785-804. the later, in which it was recast altogether and much enlarged by B F

THE FIRST VERSION.

- 1 1626 London, 8vo. See title at p. 785 B M pressmarks 533 d 3 (1); 533 f 21 (1).
- 2 1627. London, 8vo *The Seaman's Grammar* No copy at present in the British Museum There is a copy in the Bodleian
- 3 1636 London, 8vo *An Accidence for the Sea &c* Without any name of author, and with a new Preface by B F. B M pressmark, 534 a 32.
- 7 10 June 1884. Birmingham, England, 8vo *The English Scholar's Library*. The present impression.

THE SECOND VERSION.

- 4 [6 Nov 1652] 1653 London, 4to *The Seaman's Grammar*. A rearranged and much enlarged edition of SMITH's tract, now divided into 15 Chapters. B M pressmark, E 679 (9).
- 5 1691. London, 4to (a) *The Seaman's Grammar.* B M pressmark, 51 c 8
- 6 1692. London, 4to (b) *Title edition only* B M pressmark, 533 d 3 (2).

The true Travels &c. 1630.

- 1 1625 London, fol. Rev S PURCHAS's *Pilgrimes*. The substance of our Author's wanderings first appeared, abridged, in Vol II of the *Pilgrimes* B M. pressmark, 679 h 12.

- 2 [Aug 1629] 1630. London, fol. See title at p. 805. B M pressmarks, 566 g 1 (1), B 273 (1), G 7195.
 3 1678 Amsterdam, 4to J SANDERSON *Seer gedenckwaertige vorzagien, &c.* An abridgement of the *True Travels, &c.*
 4 1706 Leyden, 8vo P VAN DER AA. *Naaukeurige Versameling* Vol 73 B M pressmark, 979 c 21 (2)
 5 1707. Leyden, 8vo P VAN DER AA *Naaukeurige Versameling* Vol 89 B M pressmark, 979 c 23 (1)
 6 1727 Leyden, fol P VAN DER AA *Aanmerkenswaartigste Zee* Deel 5 B M pressmark, 566 1 7.
 7 1732. London, fol A & J CHURCHILL *Collection of Voyages, &c.* The *True Travels* occurs in Vol II. B M pressmark, 566 1 7.
 8 1744 London, fol A & J CHURCHILL. *Collection of Voyages, &c.* The *True Travels* occurs in Vol II. B M pressmark, 455 f. 1
 9 1752 London, fol A & J. CHURCHILL *Collection of Voyages, &c.* The *True Travels* occurs in Vol II. B M pressmark, 215 e 2.
 10 1819 Richmond, Va., U S A , 8vo. The *True Travels* are reprinted with the *General History* B M. pressmark, 1447. g 17.
 11 to June 1884 Birmingham, England, 8vo *The English Scholar's Library* The present impression.

Advertisements to Unexperienced Planters &c. 1631.

- 1 [Oct 1630] 1631. London, 4to. See title at p. 917. B M. pressmark, C 33. c. 14
 2 1832 Boston, Massa., U S A , 8vo *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* 3rd Series Vol III contains the *Advertisements &c.* B.M. pressmark. Ac. 8400
 3 1865 Boston, Massa., U S A , 4to *Advertisements.* B M pressmark, 10413 h.
 4 to June 1884 Birmingham, England, 8vo *The English Scholar's Library.* The present impression

Lives of Captain John Smith.

- 1 1782. Berlin, 8vo. CARL FRIEDRICH SCHEIBLER *Reisen, Entdeckungen und Unternehmungen des Schiffs [!] Capitain Johan Schmidt* B M. pressmark, 1052. d 1.
 2 1834. Boston, Massa., U S A . J SPARKS *The Library of American biography. The Life of Captain JOHN SMITH*, by GEORGE S HILLARD, is in Vol. II B M pressmark, 2040 a
 3 [1843] New York, U S A . *The Life of Captain JOHN SMITH*, by W GILMORE SIMMS. B M pressmark, 10880 c
 4 1881 New York, U.S.A. *Lives of American Worthies Captain JOHN SMITH, . . . A study of his Life and Writings*, by CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER
 5 1884. London, 8vo. *The Life of Captain JOHN SMITH*, by JOHN ASHTON

A short chronological List of English books, co-ordinate, or supplementary to the present Text.

(All these Works were published in London, unless otherwise stated, from the time our Author went to Virginia, and will be found helpful to the further study of the History of our First English Colonies.)

Up to Captain Smith's death. 1631.

- | | | | |
|---|----------------|---------------|------|
| 1590-1650 LEVINUS HUISIUS, &c. <i>Collection of Voyages</i> | In German, &c | Frankfort, &c | 4to. |
| [1602-1646 Governor WILLIAM BRADFORD <i>Of Plimoth Plantation</i> | Mas. Hist Soc. | | |
| Boston 1856] | | | |
| 1609. FERNANDO DE SOTO. <i>Virginia richly valued.</i> Trans by Rev. R HAKLUYT . . . | | | 4to. |
| R[OBERT] G[RAY]. <i>A good Speeke to Virginia</i> . . . | | | 4to. |
| Rev WILLIAM SYMONDES <i>Scilmon preached on 25 Apr 1609</i> . . . | | | 4to. |
| MARC LESCARTON. <i>Nova Francia &c</i> Trans by P. L[RONDELLE] . . . | | | 4to. |
| [R. I.] <i>Nova Britannia Offirunge &c.</i> . . . | | | 4to. |
| 1610. [R. RICH.] <i>Newes from Virginia</i> In Verse 1865] . . . | | | 4to. |
| WILLIAM CRASHAW, B D. A Sermon preached on 21 Feb. 1609[-10] . . . | | | 4to. |
| Council of Virginia. <i>A true and sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation &c</i> . . . | | | 4to. |
| Council for Virginia. <i>A true Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, &c.</i> . . . | | | 4to. |

[1610-1615] WILLIAM STRACHEY.	<i>History of Travale into Virginia Britannia</i>	Hakluyt	
SOC 1849]			8vo.
1611. THOMAS WEST, Lord DE-LA-WARRE.	<i>Relation, &c.</i>		4to.
1612 [R 1] [WILLIAM STRACHEY]	<i>The new Life of Virginea [Part II of Nova Britannia]</i>		4to.
	<i>For the Colony in Virginea Britannia Lawes divine, morall and martall</i>		4to.
1613 Rev SAMUEL PURCHAS his Pilgrimage (2nd Ed in 1614, 3d Ed. in 1617, 4th Ed in 1624)	<i>A Plaine Description of the Bermudas</i>	W C	fol.
	Rev ALEXANDER WHITAKER <i>Good news from Virginia With a Preface by W CRASHAW</i>		4to.
ROBERT HARCOURT	<i>A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana</i>		4to.
1615 RALPH HAMON.	<i>A true Discourse of the present Estate of Virginia</i>		4to.
1618 <i>News of Sir Walter Raleigh with the true Description of Guiana</i>			4to.
1619. Council for Virginia	<i>A Note of the Shipping &c sent to Virginia</i>		4to.
Council for Virginia	<i>Another Note of the Shipping, &c with the names of the Adven- turers</i>		5 sh.
1620 Council for Virginia	<i>A Declaration of the State of the Colony, 22 June 1620</i>		4to.
Council for Virginia	<i>A Declaration . . . touching the present estate, 20 Sept 1620</i>		4to.
RICHARD WHITBOURNE	<i>A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland</i>		4to.
Bishop JOHN KING	<i>A Sermon preached on 6 March 1620</i>		4to.
1622 R[OBERT] CLUSHMAN	<i>A Sermon preached at New Plymouth, 9 Dec. 1621</i>		4to.
Bermuda	<i>Orders and Constitutions &c 6 Feb 1621[-2]</i>		4to.
Rev PATRICK COPLAND.	<i>A Sermon preached on the 18 April 1622</i>		4to.
[Rev JOHN BRINSFELD]	<i>A Consolation for our Grammar Schools</i>		4to.
[JOHN BONNIEL]	<i>His Majesties gracions Letter About Silk Works and Vines</i>		4to.
[G MOURI?] [G MOURI?]	<i>A Relation or Journall of the beginning of New Plymouth</i>		4to.
EDWARD WATERHOUSE	<i>A Declaration of the State of the Colony . . . with A Rela- tion of the barbarous Massacre</i>		4to.
Rev JOHN DONNE, D.D.	<i>A Sermon preached on 13 November 1622</i>		4to.
	<i>A brief Relation of the Discovery of New England, 1607-1622</i>		4to.
RICHARD WHITPOURNE.	<i>A loving Invitation for the Plantation in Newfoundland</i>		4to.
1624 Sir WILLIAM ALEXANDER, afterwards Earl of STERLING.	<i>An Encouragement to the Colonies, 4to Title Editions in 1625 and 1630.</i>		4to.
E[WADFWD] W[ILNSLOW]	<i>Good Newes from New England</i>		4to.
[On the 28th July 1624, the following was entered at Stationeis' Hall, London (Transcript, iv 112, Ed 1877), but query if ever published:			4to.
Captain JOHN JEFFERIES	<i>News from Virginia, or Virginia stript naked</i>		?
1625 Rev SAMUEL PURCHAS his Pilgrimes			fol.
Rev WILLIAM MORRELL	<i>New England &c In Latin and English Veise</i>		4to.
JOHN HAGTHORPE	<i>Englands Exchequer . . . concerning Plantations</i>		4to.
1626. ORPHEUS JUNIOR [Sir WILLIAM VAUGHAN]	<i>The Golden Fleece . . . from Newfoundland</i>		4to.
1628 CHRISTOPHER LEVERT	<i>A Voyage into New England, 1623-4</i>		4to.
Governor R[OBERT] H[AYMAN]	<i>Quodlibets from Newfoundland</i>		4to.
1630. [Rev FRANCIS HIGGINSON]	<i>New Englands Plantation</i> (Three editions in this year)		4to.
[Rev JOHN WILLE]	<i>The Planter's Plea, or, the Grounds of Plantation examined</i>		4to.
[Rev JOHN COTTON]	<i>Gods promises for the Plantation in New England</i>		4to.

Later Works.

1632.	<i>A publication of Guiana's Plantation, &c</i>			4to.
1635 WILLIAM WOOD	<i>New England's Prospect</i>			4to.
1635 LUKE FOX	<i>North-west Fox; or, FOX from the North-west passage</i>			4to.
1635 JOH HONDUS	<i>Historia Mundi, &c.</i> Trans. by WYE SALTONSTALL			fol
1637. THOMAS MORTON	<i>New English Canaan</i>			4to.
1648. THOMAS GACE	<i>The English American . . . or a New Survey of the West Indies</i>			fol.
1654. [EDWARD JOHNSON]	<i>A History of New England, 1628-1652</i>			4to.
1659 FERDINAND GORGES	<i>America painted to the Life 4 Parts</i>			4to.
1669. NATHANIEL MORTON	<i>New England's Memorial</i>			4to.
1677. WILLIAM HUBBARD	<i>The present State of New England</i>			4to.
1705. R[OBERT] BEVERLEY	<i>History and Present State of Virginia</i> (2nd Ed in 1722)			8vo.
1738-55 Rev T. PRINCE	<i>A Chronological History of New England. Boston, Massa</i>			8vo.
1747. WILLIAM STITH.	<i>History of the first Discovery &c of Virginia Williamsburg, Va</i>			8vo.
1804-18. JOHN BURK	<i>History of Virginia from its first settlement 3 Vols. Petersburg, Va.</i>			8vo.
1819-23 W. W. HENING	<i>The Statutes at Large . . . of Virginia from Richmond, Va</i>			8vo.
1860. CHARLES CAMPBELL.	<i>History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia. Philadelphia, Pa</i>			8vo.
1861. Bishop WILLIAM MEADE.	<i>Old Churches, Ministers, and Families in Virginia. 2 Vols. Philadelphia, Pa</i>			8vo.
1869. EDWARD DUFFIELD NEILL	<i>History of the Virginia Company of London Albany, N.Y.</i>			4to.
1871. EDWARD DUFFIELD NEILL	<i>The English Colonization of America</i>			8vo.

JAMES LENOX, CHARLES DEANE, and JUSTIN WINSOR.
The Ten States of SMITH's *New England Map*.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR, at p. 52 of the first volume of the noble Memorial History of Boston, Massa 4 Vols. 1880-1, has given the following, which is the fullest account of the various issues of the New England Map.

SMITH's map, as the real foundation of our New England cartography, deserves particular attention. To the draft which he made he affixed the Indian names, or such as whom had prompted him to give while he surveyed the shores. There is rarely found in copies of the *Description of New England* a leaf [see p. 232], printed on one side only, which reads as follows. "Because the Booke was printed ere the Prince his Highnesse had altered the names, I intreat the Reader peruse this schedule; which will plainly shew him the correspondence of the old names to the new." Below this are two columns, one giving the old names, the other the new ones; the latter such as Prince CHARLES, then a lad of fifteen, had affixed to the different points, bays, rivers, and other physical features, when SMITH showed him the map. As engraved, the map has the Prince's nomenclature; the book has SMITH's or the earlier; and this rare leaf is to make the two mutually intelligible.

So far as is known to me, this map exists in ten States of the plate, and I purpose now to note their distinctive features. In this study I make use of some memoranda of Mr. JAMES LENOX and M^r CHAS. DEANE, printed in *Norton's Literary Gazette*, new series, 1. (1854) 134, 219; but I add one condition (VIII.) to their enumeration.

I. The original condition of the map bears in the lower left-hand corner, *Simon Pasanus sculpsit; Robert Clarke excudit*; and in the lower right-hand corner, *London, Printed by Geo^r Low*. The title NEW ENGLAND is in large letters at the top, to the right of it the English arms, and beneath it, *The most remarqueable parts thus named [by the high and mighty Prince CHARLES, | Prince of great Britaine]*. The latitude is marked on the right-hand side only; there are no marks of longitude. Boston Harbor is indicated by a bay with eight islands, and a point of land extending from the southwest within it. The River Charles extends inland from the northwest corner of the bay, a short distance. A whale, a ship, and a fleet are represented upon the sea. There is no date beneath the scale. There are many names on later states not yet introduced, and some of the present names are changed in the later impressions, as will be noted below.

Of the names which the Prince assigned, but three became permanently attached to the localities, and these are,—Plimouth to the spot which CHAMPLAIN had called *Port St. Louis*, which the natives called Accomack, and which the Pilgrims continued to call by this newer name, seven or eight years later, *Cape Anna*, for which SMITH had sacrificed the remembrance of his Eastern romance [p. 201], and *The River Charles*, which had been previously known as *Massachusetts River*, while the name *Massachusetts Mount*, earlier applied to our Blue Hill, became, under CHARLES's pen, *Chenyot hills*. GOSNOLD's *Cape Cod* proved better rooted than CHARLES's monument to his dynasty, *Cape James*, and so the Prince's *Stuard's Bay* has given place to Cape Cod Bay. Our own name,—Boston,—as is the case with many other well-known names of this day, appears in connection with a locality remote from its present application. It supplanted SMITH's *Accomonicus*, and stood for the modern York in Maine. Two of the Captain's names were suffered to stand,—*New England* as the general designation of the country, and *Smith's Isles*, within ten years afterwards, to be known among the English as the *Isles of Shoals*. London was put upon the shore about where Hingham or perhaps Cohasset is, Oxford stood for the modern Marshfield, *Poynt Sutliff* is adjacent, and does duty for CHAMPLAIN's *C. de S. Louis* and the present Brant Rock, and *Poynt George* is the designation of the Gurnet.

Of the copies of the book known to be in America, but one has the map in this state, and that is the Prince copy, in which the map is unfortunately imperfect, but not in an essential part. From this copy C. A. SWETT, of Boston, engraved the fac-simile which appeared in VEAZIE's reprint [p. cxlv.] of the *Description of New England*, in 1865.

In 1617, HULSIUS, the German collector, translated SMITH's *Description* for his *Voyages*, and re-engraved the map, but the names in the lower corners were omitted, and SMITH's title, the verses concerning him, and some of the explanations were given in German. HULSIUS's map, beside accompanying his Part XIV., first edition, 1617, and second edition, 1628, is often found in Part XIII. (Hamor's Virginia), and is also given in Part XX. (New England and Virginia), 1629.

II. The date, 1614, is for the first time inserted under the scale, and the names *T Travers and Gerrards Isls* are put in near *Pembrook Bay* (Penobscot). A copy of this second state is in the Harvard College copy of the *Description* of 1616. We give a heliotype of a portion of it. A lithographic fac-simile of the whole, but without the ships, &c., is given in *Mass Hist Coll* iii., and in a reduced form by photolithography in PALFREY'S *New England*, i. 95. Mr. LENOX supposed that this state of the plate may have been first used in the 1620 edition of SMITH's *New England's Trials*, no copy of which was known to be in this country when M^r DEANE, in 1873, reprinted it in the *Proceedings of the Mass Hist Society*, Feb. 1873.

III. SMITH's escutcheon, but without the motto, was introduced in the lower left-hand corner. This state is found in Mr DEANE's copy of the *Generall Historie*, 1624, and in the Lenox copy of the *Description of 1616*. Mr LENOX supposed this state may have been first used in the 1622 edition of *New England's Trials*.

IV. The motto *Vincere est vivere* is put in a scroll to the left of SMITH's escutcheon. The degrees of latitude and longitude are noted on all sides. Copies of this state are found in the Charles Deane and Carter Brown copies of the *Description* of 1616, and it was also in the Crowninshield copy, taken from Boston to England some years since. Mr LENOX supposed this state to have originally belonged to the first edition of the *Generall Historie*, 1624, in which SMITH gathered his previous independent issues. There was no change in the several successive editions of this book (1624, 1626, 1627, 1632, the last in two issues) except in the front matter; and, speaking of this book FIELD, in his *Indian Bibliography*, p 366, says of the original issue, "It is so commonly the case as almost to form the rule, that even the best copies have been made up by the substitution of later editions of some of the maps." Some of the copies were on large paper.

V. The name *Paynes IIs* is put down on the Maine coast. Cross-lines are made on the front of the breastplate in the portrait of SMITH, in the upper left-hand corner, and the whole portrait is retouched. Robert Clarke's name is partly obliterated. This state is supposed to belong to the 1626 edition of the *Generall Historie*. The edition of this date in Cornell University Library (Sparks Collection) has but a part of the map, which, however, so far conforms. It is in Mr BARLOW's 1624 edition.

VI. The name of *James Reene* in the lower right-hand corner is substituted for that of *George Low*. The name of the engraver is given with an additional *s*, — *Passers*. This state is supposed by Mr LENOX to belong to the 1627 edition of the *Generall Historie*, of which there are copies in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Library, and in the Prince Library (with notes by Prince). This state is in the 1632 edition in Harvard College Library.

VII. The last line of the inscription at the top is changed to read *noue King of great Britaine*. In the portrait the armor is figured. *West's Bay* is placed on the outer side of *Cape James*. *Pt Standish* corresponds to the modern *Manomet Point*. The word *NEW* is inserted above *Plymouth*. *P Wyntrop* is put north of *Cape Anna*. *P Recues* is put near *Ipswich*. *Salem* is laid down just north of *Cape Anna*. *Fullerton Ile* is changed to *F,auincs Ile*, *Cary IIs* to *Clairboru IIs* (off Boston Harbor), and *P. Murry* to *P. Saltonstale* (south of Boston Harbor). The bay (Boston Harbor) is enlarged westward, a point of land within it erased, and the islands increased from eight to eighteen.

Mr LENOX held that this state first appeared in Smith's *Advertisements to Planters*, 1631, and it is found in the Carter Brown copy of this tract. The Harvard College copy, however, has the state X., and the Charles Deane copy has IX. Mr LENOX has questioned if this state did not sometimes make part of HIGGINSON's *New England's Plantation*, of which there were three editions printed in 1630, the first of twenty, and the second enlarged to twenty-six pages. The two copies of the book in Harvard College Library, the three editions in the Lenox Library, and the copy which was in the Binley sale, all, however, want the map SPARKE, who printed the second edition of HIGGINSON, probably owned the plate, as he printed the *Generall Historie* of 1624, 1626, and 1627, and the *Historia Mundi* of 1635, which all had the map. Yet, if it properly belongs to HIGGINSON, it is strange that a map misplacing *Salem*, where HIGGINSON lived, should be used, and the names *Wyntrop* and *Saltonstale* could have been given only in anticipation of the arrival of those gentlemen.

VIII. *Martins Ile* is given in Penobscot Bay. Perhaps some of the changes named under IX. were made in this state (except the Plymouth Company's arms), for the only example of it which I have found is a fragment (two thirds) of the map belonging to Harvard College Library, the westerly third being gone. It belonged, perhaps, to the first issue of the 1632 edition of the *Generall Historie*.

IX. The arms of the Council for New England are given in the centre of the plate. The following changes may first have appeared in the preceding number. The name *Charlton* is inserted just south of the mouth of *The River Charles*. *Salem* misplaced is obliterated, and the name is inserted in its proper place. Two unfinished arms of the sea, on the north of *Talbot's Bay*, are extended inland, covering the position of church in previous states. This may have belonged to the second 1632 issue of the *Generall Historie*, and it appears in such copies in Harvard College Library and in Mr. BARLOW's copy. It is in Mr DEANE's *Advertisement to Planters* of 1631.

X. *The River Charles* is extended to the left-hand edge of the plate, and symbols of towns with figures of men, animals, and representations of Indian huts are scattered near it. On its north bank the following names are inserted, beginning at the west: *Watertowne*, *Newtowne*, *Medford*, *Charlestown*, and beyond the *Jawmouthe* of the original plate *Saugus* is put in. The south bank shows *Roxberry*, *Boston* (represented as five leagues up the river, by the scale), and *Winnisine*. *Cheyoyt hills* is erased and the name *Dorchester* is inserted along the eastern slope of the picture of the hill which still remains. *London* and *Oxford* still stand. A school of fish is delineated under the single ship. Under the compass these words appear: *He that desyres to know more of the Estate of new England lett him read a new Book of the prospects of new England & ther he shall have Satisfaction*. Although the old date, 1614, is still kept on the plate, this inscription shows that this state followed the publication of WOOD's *New England's Prospectus*, 1634, and it seems to have been made for the following work. *Historia Mundi*, or *Mercurio's Atlas* . . . *Enlarged with new Mappes and Tables by the studious industrie of Jodocus Hondius*. *Englisched by W[ye] S[altonstall]*. *London, Printed for Michaell Sparke and Samuel Cartwright, 1635*, folio.

This state is found in the Harvard College copy of the *Advertisement to Planters*, 1631.

The modern fac-simile, by SWETT, of the first state was also altered for VEAZIE to suit this condition, but the engraver did not observe that a third *s* had been inserted in the name of *Passaeus*. This altered engraving is found in J. S. LENNESS's *Isles of Shoals*, New York, 1873.

MRS. HERBERT JONES.

Description of the original painting of POCOHONTAS.

Mrs. HERBERT JONES of Sculthorpe, Fakenham, Norfolk, the author of Sandringham, Past and Present, 1883, has kindly furnished the following account of the Gorlestone picture.

While POCOHONTAS was in London, her portrait was painted. It has become known to us by the *quatro* engraving made from it by SIMON DE PASSE, which may occasionally be met with, and which first appeared with other portraits, in a volume by the brothers DE PASSE, 1616-23. SIMON DE PASSE was an artist whose family came from the Low Countries, and numbered several engravers among its members. He was born at Utrecht in 1591, and practised in England about ten years, commencing in the year 1613, the date of his earliest English work. He was not a painter, but engraved the portraits, chiefly from NICHOLAS HILLARD, of many distinguished persons, among them JAMES I, HENRY, Prince of WALES, the Earl of SOMERSET, and the Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

But the original painting of POCOHONTAS—a picture which has long been sought for, and which is now ascertained to be in Norfolk—claims description and notice, and a mention of the one very slight clue which can be given to its history.

The last Mr. PETER ELWIN, who lived at the family seat, Booton Hall, near Aylsham, in Norfolk, and who was born in 1730, and died in 1798, was a descendant of the daughter and heiress of ANTHONY ROLFE, of Tuttington. She had married an ELWIN, and had brought the Tuttington estate into the ELWIN family. It was in consequence of this connexion between the ROLFES and ELWINS that a portrait of POCOHONTAS was presented to the said Mr. PETER ELWIN, of Booton, by a lady, Madame ZUCHELLI. This is mentioned in his note-book, the entry (undated) being in his own handwriting *POCOHONTAS, given to me by Madame ZUCHELLI*. As Mr. ELWIN habitually added the name of the painter, in his memoranda of the many pictures in his possession, and omitted to do so in this instance, it is probable that the lady was ignorant of it.* No memorandum was left by Mr. ELWIN of the previous owners of the portrait, but he possessed the knowledge (as is remembered by his grandson, from the testimony of Mrs. PETER ELWIN, who survived her husband thirty-two years †) that the picture was what it professed to be; namely, a painting of the time of JAMES I, and an authentic representation from life of POCOHONTAS.

The picture itself, which is finely painted, bears every token of genuineness, both as to the assumed period of execution, and as to its direct delineation of the living features of the sitter. It is the undoubtedly original of DE PASSE's engraving, but is without signature. The artist can only be conjectured, he was probably one of that group of painters in oils, employed in the days of ELIZABETH and the two first STUARTS, whose works are of recognized excellence, and who rank next and nearest to the three or four of exalted genius—as ZUCCHERO, JANSEN, and VANDYCK. Such an one was NICOLA LOCKER, who painted an oval portrait of DR KING, Bishop of London, the Bishop who was the friend of POCOHONTAS, and in whose palace she was a visitor.

The dimensions of the picture are two feet six inches and a half by two feet one inch. A painted oval encloses the portrait. The painting of the face, and of the details of the dress is clear and finished, and shows great delicacy and beauty of execution. The whole effect of the colouring is rich, mellow, and deep-toned, with the indescribable quality shed over it which time alone can give. The portrait is slightly smaller than life, the face stamped unmistakably with the Indian type, and denoting intelligence and thoughtfulness, with much dignity both in its expression, and in the carriage of the head. She looks at once royal in birth and in nature. The features are handsome and well formed, the lips bright red, the skin dark, smooth, and velvum-like, with a suspicion of a copper tint. The eyes are remarkable; prolonged at the corners, more meditative than brilliant, like still pools rather than flashing water. Their colour is a rich, decided, undeniable brown, with very blue tints on the white eyeballs. The eyebrows are straight and black, the short hair by the ear throws out a glistening pearl earring. The deep lace ruff, rising behind, defines sharply the shape of the face, which shows the high cheekbones, and the outline narrowing abruptly below them, so characteristic of her race. The hat she wears on her head, and which in the print has a grotesque appearance, sinks unnoticed into the scarcely less dark back-ground, while the richly-chased broad golden band round it gives the effect of a coronet, and is in happy combination with the colouring of the face. She wears a mantle of red brocaded velvet, much ornamented with gold; the under dress dark, buttoned with gold buttons. A small, taper hand holds a fan of three white ostrich feathers.

Around the portrait are the words, *Matouah Rebecca filia potentiss Princ Powhatan Imp Virginiae*.
On a space beneath—*Matouah als [i.e., alias] Rebecca, daughter to the mighty prince Powhatan Emperor of Attanoughkomouck als [i.e., alias] Virginia, converted and baptiz'd in the Christian faith, and wife to the worsh[ipfu]ll Mr. Thos. Rolf*.

Close under the figure, within the oval, is written, *Aetatis sua 21 A° 1616*.

* It has been surmised that Mr. ELWIN's unusual omission of the painter's name meant that ZUCHELLI stood for the artist as well as the giver, but no painter of that name has ever been known to visit England.

† She died April, 1830, aged eighty-five years.

A

T R V E R E - lation of such occur- rences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the South part thereof, till the last returne from thence.

[The ascription on the Title-pages that were probably first printed :

*Written by a Gentleman of the said Collony, to a worshipfull
friend of his in England.]*

[Ascription on what were probably the second Title-pages (as in the two British Museum
copies, C. 33. c. 35 and Grenville 7, 121), specifying some Author, though the wrong one.

*Written by Th. Watson. Gent. one of the said Collony, to a
worshipfull friend of his in England.]*

[Ascription on the corrected final Title-pages, issued with the *Preface* on pp. 3-4]

*Written by Captain Smith, Coronell of the said Collony, to a
worshipfull friend of his in England.*

L O N D O N

Printed for *John Tappe*, and are to bee solde at the Grey-
hound in Paules-Church-yard, by *W. W.*

1608

[This *True Relation* is the earliest printed account of the James River Settlement.

It is quite clear from the text at p. 40, that this *Relation* was finished after the loading of the *Phœnix*, and her leaving James Town for England : and we know from pp. 109, 413, that she was off Cape Henry on the 2nd June 1607. Therefore the latest date that can be assigned for its composition is that day.

The *Phœnix* made a quick voyage home, and reached London before the following 7 July, see p. xcii.

This Relation was thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall.

13 August: [1608]

William Welby. Entred for their copie vnder the handes of master.
John Tappe/ WILSON and Th[e]waiden Master Lownes / A booke
 called *A true relation of suche occurrences and
 accidentes of note as haue happened in Virginia synce
 the first plantinge of that Colonye which is nowe
 resident in the south parte of Virginia till master
 NELSONS comminge away from them, &c.* vjd.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D., Ed. by E. ARBER, iii. 388, London, 1876.

For the bibliography of this Tract, see p. cxxx.

This *Relation* is nothing but an ordinary "pamphlet of news," and is carelessly printed.

Mr. CHARLES DEANE, at p. xiv of his reprint of 1866, states :

"This little black-letter quarto has for a long time been considered 'rare' among book-collectors, although at the present time I know of six copies in this country [*U. S. A.*]. Five of these I have had the privilege of examining. In the library of Colonel ASPINWALL, late Consul of the United States in London, which was recently purchased by Mr. BARLOW, of New York, is a copy with a *Smith* title page, and explanatory preface. Mr. JAMES LENOX, of New York, also has a copy like that. Mr. JOHN CARTER BROWN, of Providence, R.I., has a copy, with the *Watson* title page, in a manuscript *fac-simile*, and without the explanatory preface. A copy with the *Watson* title, and also with the preface, is in the library of the New York Historical Society. A copy wanting the title page, and also the preface, is in the library of Harvard College.

"Mr. LENOX has within a few months [1876] received from London a second copy of this tract, differing in its title page from either of the others described. It has neither the name of *Smith* nor of *Watson* on the title page, but simply the words, *By a Gentleman*. It also contains the explanatory preface

"The text of all these copies is the same, there never having been but one edition. The leaves are not paged."]

To the Courteous Reader.


[1608]
 Ourteous, Kind, and indifferent Readers, whose willingnesse to reade and heare this following discourse, doth explaine to the world your hearty affection, to the prosecuting and furtherance of so worthy an action: so it is, that like to an vnskilfull actor, who hauing by misconstruction of his right Cue, ouer-slipt himselfe, in beginning of a contrary part, and fearing the hatefull hisse of the captious multitude, with a modest blush retires himselfe in priuate; as doubting the reprehension of his whole audience in publicke, and yet againe vpon further deliberation, thinking it better to know their censures at the first, and vpon submission to reape pardon, then by seeking to smother it, to incurre the danger of a secret scandall: Imboldening himselfe vpon the curteous kindnesse of the best, and not greatly respecting the worst, comes fourth againe, makes an Apollogie for himselfe, shewes the cause of his error, craues pardon for his rashnes, and in fine, receiuies a generall applauditie of the whole assemblie: so I gentle Readers, happening vpon this relation by chance (as I take it, at the second or third hand) induced thereunto by diuers well willers of the] action, and none wishing better towards it then my selfe, so farre foorth as my poore abilitie can or may stretch too, I thought good to publish it: but the Author being absent from the presse, it cannot be doubted but that some faults haue escaped in the printing, especially in the names of Countries, Townes, and People, which are somewhat strange vnto vs; but most of all, and which is the chiefe error, (for want of knowledge of the Writer) some of the booke were printed vnder the name of *Thomas Watson*, by whose occasion I know not, vnlesse it were the ouer rashnesse, or mistaking of the workemen [*i.e., the printers*], but

[1608] since hauing learned that the saide discourse was written by Captaine Smith, who is one of the Counsell there in *Virginia*: I thought good to make the like Apollogie, by shewing the true Author so farre as my selfe could learne, not doubting, but that the wise noting it as an error of ignorance, will passe it ouer with patience; and if worthy an applauditie, to reserue it to the Author, whose paines in my iudgement deserueth commendations; somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought (fit to be priuate) I would not aduenture to make it publicke[.] what more may be expected concerning the scituatiōn of the Country, the nature of the clime, number of our people there resident, the manner of their gouernment, and liuing, the commodities to be produced, and the end and effect it may come too, I can say nothing more then is here written: only what I haue learned and gathered from the generall consent of all (that I haue conuersed withall) aswell marriners as others, which haue had imployment that way; is that the Country is excellent and pleasant, the clime temperate and health full, the ground fertill and good, the commodities to be expected (if well followed) many, for our people, the worst being already past, these former hauing indured the heate of the day, whereby those that shall succeede, may at ease labour for their profit, in the most sweete, coole, and temperate shade: the action most honorable, and the end to the high glory of God, to the erecting of true religion among Infidells, to the ouerthrow of superstition and idolatrie, to the winning of many thousands of wandring sheepe, vnto Christs fold, whonow, and till now, haue strayed in the vnknowne paths of Paganisme, Idolatrie, and superstition: yea, I say the Action being well followed, as by the graue Senators, and worthy aduenturors, it hath beene worthily begunne: will tend to the euerlasting renowne of our Nation, and to the exceeding good and benefit of our Weale publicke in generall: whose Counsells, labours, godly and industrious endeouours, I beseech the mightie *Iehouah* to blesse, prosper, and further, with his heauenly ayde, and holy assistance.

Farewell.

I. H.



A

True relation of such occurrences
and accidents of note, as hath hapned at *Vir-*
ginia, since the first planting of that Collony,
which is now resident in the South part
thereof, till the last returne.



Inde Sir, commendations remembred, &c.
You shall vnderstand that after many crosses in the downes by tempests, wee arriued safely vppon the Southwest part of the great Canaries: within fourre or ffe daises after we set saile for *Dominica*, the 26. of Aprill: the first land we made, wee fell with Cape *Henry*, the verie mouth of the Bay of *Chissiapiacke*, which at that present we little expected, hauing by a cruell storme bene put to the Northward:

[1607]

[1591, 387]

Anchoring in this Bay twentie or thirtie went a shore with the Captain, and in comming aboard [*on land*], they were assalted with certaine Indians, which charged them within Pistoll shot: in which conflict, Captaine *Archer* and *Mathew Morton* were shot: wherupon Captaine *Newport* seconding them, made a shot at them, which the Indians little respected, but hauing spent their arrowes retyred without harme. And in that place was the Box opened, wherin the Counsell for *Virginia* was nominated: and

[1591, 896.]

[16. 91]

[1607]

[2. 91.]

ariuing at the place [James Town] where wee are now seated, the Counsell was sworn, and the President elected, which for that yeare was Maister *Edm. Maria Wingfield*, where was made choice for our scituuation, a verie fit place for the erecting of a great cittie, about which some contention passed betwixt Captaine *Wingfield* and Captaine *Gosnold*: notwithstanding, all our provision was brought a shore, and with as much speede as might bee wee went about our fortification.

[2. 91, 387]

The two and twenty day of Aprill [*or rather May 1607*], Captain *Newport* and my selfe with diuers others, to the number of twenty two persons, set forward to discouer the Riuier, some fiftie or sixtie miles, finding it in some places broader, and in some narrower, the Countrie (for the moste part) on each side plaine high ground, with many fresh Springes, the people in all places kindly intreating vs, daunsing and feasting vs with strawberries, Mulberries, Bread, Fish, and other their Countrie prouisions wheroft we had plenty : for which Captaine *Newport* kindly requited their least fauours with Bels, Pinnes, Needles, beades, or Glasses, which so contented them that his liberallitie made them follow vs from place to place, and euer kindly to respect vs. In the midway staying to refresh our selues in a little Ile foure or five sauages came vnto vs which described vnto vs the course of the Riuier, and after in our iourney, they often met vs, trading with vs for such prouision as wee had, and ariuing at *Arsatecke*, hee whom we supposed to bee the chiefe King of all the rest, moste kindly entertained vs, giuing vs in a guide to go with vs vp the Riuier to *Powhatan*, of which place their great Emperor taketh his name, where he that they honored for King vsed vs kindly. But to finish this discouerie, we passed on further, where within an ile [*a mile*] we were intercepted with great craggy stones in the midst of the riuier, where the water falleth so rudely, and with such a violence, as not any boat can possibly passe, and so broad disperseth the stremme, as there is not past fife or sixe Foote at a low water, and to the shore scarce passage with a barge, the water floweth foure foote, and the freshes by reason of the Rockes haue left markes of the inundations 8. or 9. foote : The south side is plaine low ground, and the north side high moun-

taines, the rockes being of a grauelly nature, interlaced with many vains of glistring spangles.

[1607]

That night we returned to *Powhatan*: the next day (being Whitsunday after dinner) we returned to the fals, leauing a mariner in pawn with the Indians for a guide of theirs, hee that they honoured for King followed vs by the riuer. That afternoone we trifled in looking vpon the Rockes and riuer (further he would not goe) so there we erected a crosse, and that night taking our man at *Powhatans*, Captaine *Newport* congratulated his kindenes with a Gown and a Hatchet: returning to *Arsetecke*, and stayed there the next day to obserue the height [*latitude*] therof, and so with many signes of loue we departed.

The next day the Queene of *Agamatack* kindly intreated vs, her people being no lesse contented then the rest, and from thence we went to another place (the name whereof I doe not remember) where the people shewed vs the manner of their diuing for Mussels, in which they finde Pearles.

That night passing by *Weanock* some twentie miles from our Fort, they according to their former churlish condition, seemed little to affect vs, but as wee departed and lodged at the point of *Weanocke*, the people the next morning seemed kindly to content vs, yet we might perceiue many signes of a more Iealousie in them then before, and also the Hinde that the King of *Arseteck* had giuen vs, altered his resolution in going to our Fort, and with many kinde circumstances left vs there. This gaue vs some occasion to doubt some mischiefe at the Fort, yet Captaine *Newport* intended to haue visited *Paspahegh* and *Tappahanocke*, but the instant change of the winde being faire for our return we repaired to the fort with all speed [27 May], where the first we heard was that 400 Indians the day before [26 May] had assaltd the fort, and surprised it, had not God (beyond al their expectations) by meanes of the shippes (at whom they shot with their Ordinances and Muskets) caused them to retire, they had entred the fort with our own men, which were then busied in setting Corne, their armes beeing then in driefats and few ready but certain Gentlemen of their own, in which conflict, most of the Counsel was hurt, a boy slaine in the Pinnas, and thirteene or fourteene more hurt.

[1607 92, 388]

[1607] With all speede we pallisadoed our Fort: (each other
 [16. 92, 388] day) for sixe or seauen daies we had alarums by ambus-
 cadoes, and four or fve cruelly wounded by being abroad:
 the Indians losse wee know not, but as they report three
 were slain and diuers hurt.

[16. 93 1] Captaine *Newport* hauing set things in order, set saile
 for England the 22 of June [1607], leauing prouision for
 13. or 14 weeks.

The day before the Ships departure, the King of *Pamaunke*
 [*i.e.*, *Opechancanough*] sent the Indian that had met vs before
 in our discouerie, to assure vs peace; our fort being then
 palisadoed round, and all our men in good health and com-
 fort, albeit, that thro[u]gh some discontented humors, it did
 not so long continue. For the President and Captaine
Gosnold, with the rest of the Counsell, being for the moste
 part discontented with one another, in so much, that things
 were neither carried with that discretion nor any busines
 effected in such good sort as wisdome woudl, nor our owne
 good and safetie required, whereby, and through the hard
 dealing of our President, the rest of the counsell beeing
 diuerslie affected through his audacious commaund; and
 for Captaine *Martin*, albeit verie honest, and wishing the
 best good, yet so sicke and weake; and my selfe so disgrac'd
 through others mallice: through which disorder God (being
 angrie with vs) plagued vs with such famin and sicknes,
 that the liuing were scarce able to bury the dead: our
 want of sufficient and good victualls, with continuall
 watching, foure or fve each night at three Bulwarkes,
 being the chife cause: onely of Sturgion wee had great
 store, whereon our men would so greedily surfet, as it
 cost manye their liues: the Sack, Aquauitie, and other
 preseruaties for our health, being kept onely in the
 Presidents hands, for his owne diet, and his few associates.

[16. 95, 391] Shortly after Captaine *Gosnold* fell sicke, and within
 three weekes died. Captaine *Ratcliffe* being then also
 verie sicke and weake, and my selfe hauing also tasted of
 the extremitie therof, but by Gods assistance being well
 recouered. *Kendall* about this time, for diuers reasons
 deposed from being of the Councell: and shortly after it
 pleased God (in our extremity) to moue the Indians to

bring vs Corne, ere it was halfe ripe, to refiesh vs, when we rather expected when they would destroy vs: [1607]

About the tenth of September there was about 46. of our men dead, at which time Captaine *Wingfield* hauing ordred the affaires in such sort that he was generally hated of all, in which respect with one consent he was deposed from his presidencie, and Captaine *Ratcliffe* according to his course was elected.

Our prouision being now within twentie dayes spent, the Indians brought vs great store both of Corne and bread ready made: and also there came such abundance of Fowles into the Riuers, as greatly refresched our weake estates, wherevpon many of our weake men were presently able to goe abroad.

As yet we had no houses to couer vs, our Tents were rotten, and our Cabbins worse then nought: our best commoditie was Yron which we made into little chissells.

The president[s], and Captaine *Martins* sicknes, constrainyd me to be Cape Marchant, and yet to spare no paines in making houses for the company; who notwithstanding our misery, little ceased their mallice, grudging, and muttering. [pp. 96, 392]

As at this time were most of our chiefest men either sicke or discontented, the rest being in such dispaire, as they would rather starue and rot with idlenes, then be perswaded to do any thing for their owne relieve without constraint: our victualles being now within eighteene dayes spent, and the Indians trade decreasing, I was sent to the mouth of the riuier, to *Kegquouhitan* an Indian Towne, to trade for Corne, and try the riuier for Fish, but our shilling we could not effect by reason of the stormy weather. The Indians thinking vs neare famished, with carelesse kindnes, offred vs little pieces of bread and small handfulls of beanies or wheat, for a hatchet or a piece of copper: In like man[n]er I entertained their kindnes, and in like scorne offered them like commodities, but the Children, or any that shewed extraordinary kindnes, I liberally contented with free gifte [of] such trifles as wel contented them. [pp. 96, 393]

Finding this colde comfort, I anchored before the Towne, and the next day returned to trade, but God (the absolute

[1607]

disposer of all heartes) altered their conceits, for now they were no lesse desirous of our commodities then we of their Corne: vnder colour to fetch fresh water, I sent a man to discouer the Towne, their Corne, and force, to trie their intent, in that they desired me vp to their houses: which well vnderstanding, with foure shot I visited them. With fish, oysters, bread, and deere, they kindly traded with me and my men, beeing no lesse in doubt of my intent, then I of theirs; for well I might with twentie men haue fraughted a Shippe with Corne: The Towne containeth eighteene houses, pleasantly seated vpon three acres of ground, vppon a plaine, halfe inuironed with a great Bay of the great Riuier, the other parte with a Baye of the other Riuier falling into the great Baye, with a little Ile fit for a Castle in the mouth thereof, the Towne adioyning to the maine by a necke of Land of sixtie yarde.

[A. 96, 393] With sixteene bushells of Corne I returned towards our Forte: by the way I encountred with two Canowes of Indians, who came aboord me, being the inhabitants of *waroskoyack*, a kingdome on the south side of the riuier, which is in breadth 5. miles and 20 mile or neare from the mouth: With these I traded, who hauing but their hunting prouision, requested me to returne to their Towne, where I should load my boat with corne: and with near thirtie bushells I returned to the fort, the very name wherof gaue great comfort to our despai[ri]ng company:

[A. 97, 394] Time thus passing away, and hauing not aboue 14. daies victuals left, some motions were made about our presidents [*Captaine Ratcliffe's*] and Captaine *Archers* going for England, to procure a supply: in which meane time we had reasonably fitted vs with houses. And our President and Captaine *Martin* being able to walk abroad, with much adoe it was concluded, that the pinnace and barge should goe towards *Powhatan*, to trade for corne:

Lotts were cast who should go in her, the chance was mine; and while she was a rigging, I made a voyage to *Topohanack*, where arriuing, there was but certain women and children who fled from their houses, yet at last I drew them to draw neere; truck they durst not, corne they had plenty, and to spoile I had no commission:

In my returne to [at] *Paspahegh*, I traded with that churlish and trecherous nation : hauing loaded 10 or 12 bushels of corne, they offred to take our pieces and swords, yet by stelth, but [we] seeming to dislike it, they were ready to assault vs: yet standing vpon our guard, in coasting the shore, diuers out of the woods would meet with vs with corn and trade. But least we should bc constrained, either to indure ouermuch wrong or directly [to] fal to reuenge, seeing them dog vs from place to place, it being night, and our necessitie not fit for warres, we tooke occasion to returne with 10 bushells of corne:

Captaine *Martin* after made 2 iournies to that nation of *Paspahegh*, but eache time returned with 8. or 10. bushells.

[See p. 107.]

All things being now ready for my iourney to *Powhatan*, for the performance thereof, I had 8. men and my selfe for the barge, as well for discouerie as trading ; [and in] the Pinnace, 5. Marriners, and 2. landmen to take in our ladings at conuenient places.

The q of Nouember I set forward for the discouery of the country of *Chik[a]hamania*, leauing the pinnace the next tide to followe, and stay for my comming at *Point weanock*, 20 miles from our fort: the mouth of this riuier falleth into the great riuier at *Paspahegh*, 8 miles aboue our fort :

That afternoone I stayed the eb[b] in the bay of *Paspahegh* with the Indians : towards the euening certaine Indians ha[i]led me, one of them being of *Chikahamania*, offred to conduct me to his country, the *Paspahegheans* grudged therat : along we went by moonelight ; at midnight he brought vs before his Towne, desiring one of our men to go vp with him, whom he kindly intertained, and returned back to the barge :

The next morning I went vp to the towne, and shewed them what copper and hatchets they sho[u]ld haue for corne, each family seeking to giue me most content : so long they caused me to stay that 100 at least was expecting my comming by the riuier, with corne. What I liked, I bought; and least they should perceiue my too great want, I went higher vp the riuier :

This place is called *Manosquosick*, a quarter of a mile 

[1607] from the riuier, conteining thirtie or fortie houses, vpon an exceeding high land : at the foote of the hill towards the river, is a plaine wood, watered with many springes, which fall twentie yardes right downe into the riuier. Right against the same is a great marsh, of 4. or 5. miles circuit, deuided in 2 Islands, by the parting of the riuier, abounding with fish and foule of all sorts :

A mile from thence is a Towne called *Oraniocke*. I further discouered the Townes of *Mansa*, *Apanaock*, *Werawahone*, and *Mamanahunt*, [was] at eche place kindely vsed: especially at the last, being the hart of the Country ; where were assembled 200. people with such abundance of corne, as hauing laded our barge, as also I might haue laded a ship.

I returned to *Paspahhegh*, and considering the want of Corne at our Fort, it being night, with the ebb, by midnight I arived at our fort, where I found our Pinn[a]is run aground :

The next morning I vnlanded seauen hogsheds into our store.

The next morning I returned againe : the second day I arived at *Mamanahunt*, wher[e] the people hauing heard of my comming, were ready with 3 or 400. baskets little and great, of which hauing laded my barge, with many signes of great kindnes I returned :

At my departure they requested me to hear our pieces, being in the midst of the riuier ; which in regard of the echo seemed a peale of ordnance. Many birds and fowles they see vs dayly kil that much feared them. So desirous of trade wer[e] they, that they would follow me with their canowes ; and for any thing, giue it me, rather then returne it back. So I vnlanded again 7 or 8. hogheads at our fort.

Hauing thus by Gods assistance gotten good store of corne, notwithstanding some bad spirits not content with Gods prouidence, still grew mutinous ; in so much, that our president hauing occasion to chide the smith [*JAMES READ, the Blacksmith*] for his misdeamenour, he not only gaue him bad language, but also offred to strike him with some of his tooles. For which rebellious act, the smith was by a Iury condemned to be hanged, but being vpon

the ladder, continuing very obstinate as hoping vpon a rescue, when he saw no other way but death with him, he became penitent, and declared a dangerous conspiracy : for which, Captaine *Kendall*, as principal, was by a Iury condemned, [b 07] and shot to death.

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This conspiracy appeased, I set forward for the discouery of the Riuver [of] *Checka Hamania*. This third time I discouered the Townes of *Matapanient*, *Morinogh*, *Ascacap*, *moyseenock*, *Righkahauck*, *Nechanichoock*, *Mattalunt*, *Attamus-pincke*, and diuers others : their plenty of corne I found decreased, yet lading the barge, I returned to our fort.

Our store being now indifferently wel prouided with corne, there was much adoe for to haue the pinace goe for England, against which Captain *Martin* and my selfe stood chiefly against it : and in fine after many debatings *pro et contra*, it was resolued to stay a further resolution :

This matter also quieted, I set forward to finish this discouery, which as yet I had neglected in regard of the necessitie we had to take in prouision whilst it was to be had. 40. miles I passed vp the riuer, which for the most part is a quarter of a mile broad, and 3. fathom and a half deep, exeedy o[o]sey, many great low marshes, and many high lands, especially about the midst at a place called *Moysonicke*, a *Peninsule* of 4. miles ci[r]cuit, betwixt two riuers ioyned to the main by a neck of 40. or 50. yards, and 40. or 50 yards from the high water marke : On both sides in the very necke of the maine, are high hills and dales, yet much inhabited, the Ile declining in a plaine fertile corne field, the lower end a low marsh. More plentie of swannes, cranes, geese, duckes, and mallards, and diuers sorts of fowles, none would desire : more plaine fertile planted ground, in such great proportions as there, I had not seene ; of a light blacke sandy mould, the clifffes commonly red, white, and yellowe coloured sand, and vnder, red and white clay ; fish [in] great plenty, and people [in] abundance : the most of their inhabitants, in view of the neck of Land, where a better seat for a towne cannot be desired :

[1607]

At the end of forty miles, this riuver inuironeth many low llands at each high water drowned, for a mile, where it vniteth it selfe at a place called *Apokant*, the highest Towne inhabited.

10. miles higher, I discouered with the barge: in the mid way, a greate tree hindered my passage, which I cut in two. Heere the riuver became narrower, 8. 9 or 10. foote at a high water, and 6. or 7. at a lowe: the stremme exceeding swift, and the bottom hard channell: the ground, most part a low plaine, sandy soyle. This occasioned me to suppose it might issue from some lake or some broad ford, for it could not be far to the head, but rather then I would endanger the barge [*i.e., by going up with it further*]. Yet to haue beene able to resolute this doubt, and to discharge the imputation[s] of malicious tung[e]s, that halfe suspected I durst not, for so long delaying: some of the company as desirous as my self, we resolued to hier a Canow, and returne with the barge to *Apocant*, there to leaue the barge secure, and put our selues upon the aduenture: the country onely a vast and wilde wildernes, and but onely that Towne:

Within three or foure mile, we hired a Canow, and 2. Indians to row vs the next day a fowling. Hauing made such prouision for the barge as was needfull, I left her there [*at Apocant*] to ride, with expresse charge not any [one] to go ashore til my returne.

Though some wise men may condemn this too bould attempt of too much indiscretion, yet if they well consider the friendship of the Indians in conducting me, the desolateness of the country, the probabilitie of some lacke [*i.e., lake*], and the malicious iudges of my actions at home [*i.e., James Town*], as also to haue some matters of worth to incourage our aduenturers in england, [these] might well haue caused any honest minde to haue done the like, as well for his own discharge as for the publike good:

Hauing 2 Indians for my guide and 2 of our own company, I set forward, leauing 7 in the barge:

Hauing discouered 20 miles further in this desart, the riuver stil kept his depth and bredth, but [was] much more combred with trees:

Here we went ashore (being some 12 miles higher then

the barge had bene) to refresh our selues, during the boyling of our vi[c]tuals: One of the Indians I tooke with me, to see the nature of the soile, and to crosse the boughts [windings] of the riuer: the other Indian I left with Maister Robbinson and Thomas Emry, with their matches light[ed], and order to discharge a peece, for my retreat, at the first sight of any Indian.

But within a quarter of an houre I heard a lound cry, and a hollowing of Indians, but no warning peece. Supposing them surprised, and that the Indians had betrai[e]d vs, presently I seized him and bound his arme fast to my hand in a garter, with my pistoll ready bent to be reuenged on him: he aduised me to fly, and seemed ignorant of what was done.

But as we went discoursing, I was struck with an arrow on the right thigh, but without harme: vpon this occasion I espied 2. Indians drawing their bowes, which I preuented in discharging a french pistoll:

By that I had charged againe, 3 or 4 more did the like: for the first fell downe and fled: At my discharge, they did the like. My hinde [Indian] I made my barricado, who offered not to striue. 20. or 30. arrowes were shot at me but short. 3 or 4 times I had discharged my pistoll ere the king of Pamaunck called Opeckankenough with 200 men, inuironed me, eache drawing their bowe: which done they laid them [themselves] vpon the ground, yet without shot [shooting]:

My hinde treated betwixt them and me of conditions of peace; he discouered me to be the Captaine: my request was to retire to the boate: they demaunded my armes, the rest they saide were slaine, onely me they would reserue:

The Indian importuned me not to shoot. In retiring being in the midst of a low quagmire, and minding them more then my steps, I stept fast into the quagmire, and also the Indian in drawing me forth:

Thus surprised, I resolued to trie their mercies: my armes I caste from me, till which none durst approch me.

Being ceazed on me, they drew me out and led me to the King. I presented him with a compasse diall, describ-
ing by my best meanes the vse therof: whereat he so amazedly admired, as he suffered me to proceed in a discourse of the roundnes of the earth, the course of the sunne, moone, starres and plannets.

[1607]

[A.P. 16, 395;
396, 401]

[A.P. 396]

[1607]

With kinde speeches and bread he requited me, conducting me where the Canow lay and *John Robbinson* slaine, with 20 or 30. arrowes in him. *Emry* I saw not.
 [pp. 15, 395,
396, 401]

I perceiued by the abundance of fires all ouer the woods [*the sense requires here*, that they were a party hunting deer, see pp. 37 and 70.] At each place I expected when they would execute me, yet they vsed me with what kindnes they could:

Approaching their Towne [*Rasawrack*], which was within 6 miles where I was taken, onely made as arbors and couered with mats, which they remoue as occasion requires: all the women and children, being aduertised of this accident, came foorth to meet them, the King [*Opechancanough*] well guarded with 20 bowmen 5 flanck and rear, and each flanck before him a sword and a peece, and after him the like, then a Bowman, then I on each hand a boweman, the rest in file in the reare, which reare led foorth amongst the trees in a bishion, eache his bowe and a handfull of arrowes, a quiuier at his back grimly painted: on eache flanck a sargeant, the one running alwaies towards the front, the other towards the reare, each a true pace and in exceeding good order.

This being a good time continued, they caste themselues in a ring with a daunce, and so eache man departed to his lodging.

The Captain conducting me to his lodging, a quarter of Venison and some ten pound of bread I had for supper: what I left was reserued for me, and sent with me to my lodging:

Each morning 3. women presented me three great platters of fine bread, more venison then ten men could deuour I had: my gowne, points and garters, my compas and my tablet they gaue me again. Though 8 ordinarily guarded me, I wanted not what they could devise to content me: and still our longer acquaintance increased our better affection:

Much they threatned to assault our forte, as they were solicited by the King of *Paspahegh* [*then present, see p. 152*]: who shewed at our fort great signes of sorrow for this mischance [*i.e., Smith's capture*]. The King [*Opechancanough*] tooke great delight in vnderstanding the manner of our ships, and sayling the seas, the earth and skies, and of our God: what he knew of the dominions he spared not to

acquaint me with, as of certaine men cloathed at a place called *Ocanahonan*, cloathed like me: the course of our riuier, and that within 4 or 5 daies iourney of the falles, was a great turning of salt water:

I desired he would send a messenger to *Paspalhegh* [*the district in which James Town was situated*], with a letter I [p. 397] would write, by which they shold vnderstand how kindly they vsed me, and that I was well, least they should reuenge my death. This he granted and sent three men, in such weather as in reason were vnpossible by any naked to be indured. Their cruell mindes towards the fort I had deuerted, in describing the ordinance and the mines in the fields, as also the reuenge Captain *Newport* would take of them at his returne. Their intent, I incerted the fort, [as also of] the people of *Ocanahonum* and the back sea: this report they after found diuers Indians that confirmed:

The next day after my letter, came a saluage to my lodging [still at *Rasawrack*], with his sword, to haue slaine me: but being by my guard intercepted, with a bowe and arrow he offred to haue effected his purpose: the cause I knew not, till the King vnderstanding thereof came and told me of a man a dying, wounded with my pistoll: he tould me also of another I had slayne, yet the most concealed they had any hurte: This was the father of him I had slayne, whose fury to preuent, the King presently conducted me to another Kingdome, vpon the top of the next northerly riuier, called *Youghtanana*.

Hauing feasted me, he further led me to another branch [p. 398.] of the riuier, called *Mattapament*; to two other hunting townes they led me: and to each of these Countries, a house of the great Emperour of *Pewhakan*, whom as yet I supposed to bee at the *Fal[ls]*; to him I tolde him I must goe, and so returne to *Paspalhegh*.

After this foure or five dayes marsh [*march*], we returned to *Rasawrack*, the first towne they brought me too [see p. 142]: where binding the Mats in bundels, they marched two dayes iourney, and crossed the Riuer of *Youghtanana*, where it was as broad as *Thames*: so conducting me to a place called *Menapacute* in *Pamaunke*, where the King inhabited.

The next day another King of that nation called *Kekataugh*, hauing receiued some kindnes of me at the Fort,

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kindly inuited me to feast at his house, the people from all places flocked to see me, each shewing to content me.

By this, the great King hath foure or fife houses, each containing fourescore or an hundred foote in length, pleasantly seated vpon an high sandy hill, from whence you may see westerly a goodly low Country, the riuver before the which his crooked course causeth many great Marshes of exceeding good ground. An hundred houses, and many large plaines are here togither inhabited. More abundance of fish and fowle, and a pleasanter seat cannot be imagined. The King with fortie Bowmen to guard me, intreated me to discharge my Pistoll, which they there presented me, with a mark at six score [yards] to strike therwith: but to spoil the practise, I broke the cocke, whereat they were much discontented, though a chaunce supposed.

From hence, this kind King conducted mee to a place called *Topahanocke*, a kingdome vpon another Riuer northward: The cause of this was, that the yeare before, a shippe had beene in the Riuer of *Pamaunke*, who hauing beene kindly entertained by *Powhatan* their Emperour, they returned thence, and discouered the Riuer of *Topahanocke*: where being receiued with like kindnesse, yet he slue the King, and tooke of his people, and they supposed I were hee. But the people reported him [to be] a great [tall] man that was [the] Captaine, and vsing mee kindly, the next day we departed.

This Riuer of *Topahanock* seemeth in breadth not much lesse then that we dwell vpon. At the mouth of the Riuer is a Countrey called *Cuttata women*: vpwards is *Marrang tacum*, *Tapohanock*, *Appamatuck*, and *Nantaugs tacum*: at *Topmanahocks*, the head issuing from many Mountaines.

The next night I lodged at a hunting town of *Powhatans*, and the next day arriued at *Waranacomoço* vpon the riuer of *Pamauncke*, where the great king is resident. By the way we passed by the top of another little riuer, which is betwixt the two, called *Payankatank*. The most of this Country [is] th[r]ough Desert, yet exceeding fertil; good timber, most[ly] hills and dales, in each valley a cristall spring.

Arriuing at *Weramocomoco* [?on or about 5 January 1608], their Emperour proudly lying vpon a Bedstead a foote

high, vpon tenne or twelue Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his necke, and couered with a great Couering of *Rahaughcums*. At [his] heade sat [¹⁴⁰⁰] a woman, at his feete another; on each side sitting vpon a Matte vpon the ground, were raunged his chiefe men on each side the fire, tenne in a ranke, and behinde them as many yong women, each[with] a great Chaine of white Beades ouer their shoulders, their heade painted in redde: and [*Powhatan*] with such a graue and Maesticall countenance, as draue me into admiration to see such state in a naked Saluage.

Hee kindly welcomed me with good wordes, and great Platters of sundrie Victuals, assuring mee his friendship, and my libertie within foure days. Hee much delighted in *Opechan Comoughs* relation of what I had described to him, and oft examined me vpon the same.

Hee asked mee the cause of our comming.

I tolde him being in fight with the Spaniards our enemie, beeing ouerpow[e]red, neare put to retreat, and by extreame weather put to this shore: where landing at *Chesipack*, the people shot [at] vs, but at *Kequoughan* they kindly vsed vs: we by signes demaunded fresh water, they described vs vp the Riuver was all fresh water: at *Paspahegh* also they kindly vsed vs: our Pinn[a]sse being leak[i]e, we were inforced to stay to mend her, till Captaine *Newport* my father came to conduct vs away.

He demaunded why we went further with our Boate. I tolde him, in that I would haue occasion to talke of the backe Sea, that on the other side the maine, where was salt water. My father [*i.e.*, *Newport*] had a childe slaine, whiche wee supposed *Monocan* his enemie [had done]: whose death we intended to reuenge.

After good deliberation, hee began to describe [to] mee the Countreys beyonde the Falles, with many of the rest; confirming what not onely *Opechancanoyes*, and an *Indian* which had beene prisoner to *Pewhatan* had before tolde mee: but some called it fие dayes, some sixe, some eight, where the sayde water dashed amongst many stones and rockes, each storm; which caused oft tymes the heade of the Riuer to bee brackish:

Anchanachuck he described to bee the people that had

[1608] slaine my brother: whose death hee would reuenge. Hee described also vpon the same Sea, a mighty Nation called *Pocoughtronack*, a fierce Nation that did eate men, and warred with the people of *Moyaoncer* and *Pataromerke*, Nations vpon the toppe of the heade of the Bay, vnder his territories: where the yeare before they had slain an hundred. He signified their crownes were shauen, long haire in the necke, tied on a knot, Swords like Pollaxes.

Beyond them, he described people with short Coates, and Sleeues to the Elbowes, that passed that way in Shippes like ours. Many Kingdomes hee described [to] mee, to the heade of the Bay, which seemed to bee a mightie Riuier issuing from mightie Mountaines betwixt the two Seas: The people cloathed at *Ocamahowan*, he also confirmed; and the Southerly Countries also, as the rest that reported vs to be within a day and a halfe of *Mangoge*, two dayes of *Chawwonock*, 6. from *Roonock*, to the south part of the backe sea: He described a countrie called *Anone*, where they haue abundance of Brasse, and houses walled as ours.

I requited his discourse (seeing what pride hee had in his great and spacious Dominions, seeing that all hee knewe were vnder his Territories) in describing to him, the territories of *Europe*, which was subiect to our great King whose subject I was, the innumerable multitude of his ships, I gaue him to vnderstand the noyse of Trumpets, and terrible manner of fighting [that] were vnder captain *Newport* my father: whom I intituled the *Meworames*, which they call the King of all the waters. At his greatnessse, he admired: and not a little feared. He desired mee [*i.e., the English*] to forsake *Paspahelgh* [*i.e., James Town*], and to liue with him vpon his Riuier, a Countrie called *Capa Howasiche*. Hee promised to glue me Corne, Venison, or what I wanted to feede vs: Hatchets and Copper wee should make him, and none should disturbe vs.

This request I promised to performe: and thus, hauing with all the kindnes hee could deuise, sought to content me, hee sent me home, with 4. men: one that vsually carried my Gowne and Knapsacke after me, two other loded with bread, and one to accompanie me.

This Riuier of *Pamaunke* is not past twelue mile from

[1608] that we dwell on, his course northwest and westerly as the other. *Weraocomoco* is vpon salt water in bredth two myles, and so [the river] keepeth his course without any tarrying some twenty miles; where at the parting of the fresh water and the salt, it diuideth it selfe into two partes, the one part to *Goughland*, as broad as *Thames*, and nauigable with a Boate threescore or fourescore miles, and with a Shippe fiftie: exceeding[ly] crooked, and manie low grounds and marshes, but inhabited with abundance of warlike and tall people. The Countrey of *Youghtomam*, of no lesse worth, onely it is lower; but all the soyle, a fatte, fertill, sandie ground. Aboue *Manapacumter*, many high sandie mountaines. By the Riuier is many Rockes, seeming, if not, of seuerall Mines.

The other branch a little lesse in breadth, yet extendeth not neare so farre, nor so well inhabited, somewhat lower, and a white sandie, and a white clay soyle: here is their best *Terra Sigillata*. The mouth of the Riuier, as I see [? saw, see p. 6] in the discouerie therof with *Captain Newport*, is halfe a mile broad, and within foure miles not aboue a Musket shot: the channell exceeding good and deepe, the Riuier straight to the deuisions. *Kiskirk* [is] the nearest Nation to the entrances.

Their religion and Ceremonie I obserued was thus: Three or foure dayes [which would be at Rasawrack; but stated at p. 398 to have been at Pamaunkey] after my taking, seuen of them in the house where I lay, each with a rattle, began atten a clocke in the morning to sing about the fire, which they inuironed with a Circle of meale, and after a foote or two from that, at the end of each song, layde downe two or three graines of wheate: continuing this order till they haue included sixe or seuen hundred in a halfe Circle; and after that, two or three more Circles in like maner, a hand bredth from other. That done, at each song, they put betwixt euerie three, two, or five graines, a little sticke; so counting as an old woman her *Pater noster*.

One disguised with a great Skinne, his head hung round with little Skinnes of Weasels and other vermine, with a Crownet of feathers on his head, painted as vgly as the diuell, at the end of each song will make many signes and

[1608] demonstrations, with strange and vehement actions. great cakes of Deere suet, Deare, and Tobacco he casteth in the fire: till sixe a clocke in the Euening, their howling would continue ere they would depart.

Each morning in the coldest frost, the principall, to the number of twentie or thirtie, assembled themselues in a round circle, a good distance from the towne: where they told me they there consulted where to hunt the next day:

So fat they fed mee, that I much doubted they intended to haue sacrificed mee to the *Quiyoughquosiche*, which is a superiour power they worship: a more uglier thing cannot be described. One they haue for chief sacrifices, which also they call *Quiyoughquosick*. To cure the sick, a man, with a Rattle, and extreame howling, shovting, singing, and such violent gestures and Anticke actions ouer the patient, will sucke out blood and flegme from the patient, out of their vnable stomacke, or any diseased place, as no labour will more tire them.

Tobacco, they offer the water in passing in fowle weather. The death of any they lament with great sorrow and weeping. Their Kings they burie betwixt two mattes within their houses, with all his beads, iewels, hatchets, and copper: the other in graues like ours. They acknowledge no resurrection.

Powhatan hath three brethren, and two sisters, each of his brethren succeeded [succeedeth or will succeed] other. For the Crowne, their heyres inherite not, but the first heyres of the Sisters, and so successiuely the weomens heires. For the Kings haue as many weomen as they will, his Subiects two, and most but one.

From *Weramocomoco* is but 12. miles, yet the *Indians* trifled away that day [7 Jan. 1608], and would not goe to our Forte by any perswasions: but in certaine olde hunting houses of *Paspahegh* we lodged all night.

The next morning [8 Jan. 1608] ere Sunne rise, we set forward for our Fort, where we arriued within an houre: where each man with the truest signes of ioy they could expresse welcommned me, except *Maister Archer*, and some 2. or 3. of his, who was then in my absence, sworne Counsellour, though not with the consent of *Captaine Martin*:

Great blame and imputation was laide vpon mee by them [Archer, &c.], for the losse of our two men which the *Indians* slew: insomuch that they purposed to depose me. But in the midst of my miseries, it pleased God to send *Captaine Nuport*: who arriuing there the same night [8 Jan. 1608], so tripled our joy as for a while these plots against me were deferred; though with much malice against me, which captain *Newport* in short time did plainly see. Now was maister *Scruener*, captaine *Martin*, and my selfe, called Counsellors [*i.e.*, to the exclusion of *Archer*].

Within ffeue or sixe dayes after the arriuall of the Ship [13 or 14 January 1608], by a mischaunce our Fort was burned, and the most of our apparell, lodging and priuate prouision. Many of our old men [became] diseased, and [many] of our new for want of lodging perished.

The Empereur *Powhatan*, each weeke once or twice, sent me many presents of Deare, bread, *Raugroughcuns*; halfe alwayes for my father [*Captaine Newport*] whom he much desired to see, and halfe for me: and so continually importuned by messengers and presents, that I would come to fetch the corne, and take the Countrie their King had giuen me, as at last Captaine *Newport* resolued to go [to] see him.

Such acquaintance I had amongst the *Indians*, and such confidence they had in me, as neare the Fort they would not come till I came to them; euery of them calling me by my name, would not sell any thing till I had first receiued their presents, and what they had that I liked, they deferred to my discretion: but after acquaintance, they vsually came into the Fort at their pleasure: The President and the rest of the Councell, they knewe not; but Captaine *Newports* greatnesse I had so described, as they conceyued him the chiefe, the rest his children, Officers, and seruants.

We had agreed with the king of *Paspahegh*, to conduct two of our men to a place called *Panawicke* beyond *Roonek*, where he reported many men to be apparelled. Wee landed him at *Warraskoyack*, where [he] playing the villaine, and deluding vs for rewards, returned within three or foure dayes after, without going further.

Captaine *Newport*, maister *Scruener*, and my selfe, found the mouth of *Pamauncks* riuier, some 25. or 30. miles

[1608] north ward from Cape *Henrik* [*Henry*], the chanell good as before expressed.

[pp. 101, 404] Attriuing at *Weramocomoca*, being iealous of the intent of this politick saluage; to discouer his intent the better, I with 20. shot armed in Jacks, went a shore. The Bay where he dwelleth hath in it 3. cricks, and a mile and a halfe from the chanel all os [in *Grenville* copy ost: *what is meant is qose*]. Being conducted to the towne, I found my selfe mistaken in the creeke, for they al there were within lesse then a mile: the Emperors sonne called *Naukaquawis*, the captaine that tooke me [pp. 15, 152], and diuerse others of his chiefe men, conducted me to their kings habitation. But in the mid way I was intercepted by a great creek ouer which they had made a bridge of grained stakes and railes. The king of *Kiskieck*, and *Namontack*, who all the iourney, the king had sent to guide vs, had conducted vs [to] this passage, which caused me to suspect some mischiefe: the barge I had sent to meet me at the right landing, when I found my selfe first deceyued. And knowing by experiance the most of their courages to proceede from others feare, though fewe lyked the passage, I intermingled the Kings sonne, our conductors, and his chiefe men amongst ours, and led forward, leauing halfe at the one ende to make a guard for the passage of the Front. The *Indians* seeing the weakenesse of the Bridge, came with a Canow, and tooke me in [out] of the middest, with foure or fife more: being landed, wee made a guard for the rest till all were passed.

Two in a ranke we marched to the Emperors house. Before his house stood fortie or fiftie great Platters of fine bread. Being entred the house, with loude tunes they all made signes of great ioy. This proude saluage, hauing his finest women, and the principall of his chiefe men assembled, sate in rankes as before is expressed: himself as vpon a Throne at the vpper ende of the house, with such a Maiestie as I cannot expresse, nor yet haue often seene, either in Pagan or Christian. With a kinde countenance hee bad mee welcome, and caused a place to bee made by himselfe [for me] to sit.

I presented him a sute of red cloath, a white Greyhound, and a Hatte: as Iewels he esteemed them, and with a great Oration made by three of his Nobles, if therc

be any amongst Saluages, kindly accepted them, with a [1608] publike confirmation of a perpetuall league and friendship.

After that, he commanded the Queene of *Apamatuc*, a [1600] comely yong Saluage, to giue me water, a Turkie cocke, and breade to eate:

Being thus feasted, hee began his discourse to this [pp. 102, 405] purpose. Your kinde visitation doth much content mee, but where is your father whom I much desire to see, is he not with you.

I told him, he remained aboord, but the next day he would come vnto him.

With a merrie countenance he asked me for certaine peeces which I promised him, when I went to *Paspahagh*.

I told [him] according to my promise, that I proffered the man that went with me foure Demy Culuerings, in that he so desired a great Gunne: but they refused to take them.

Whereat with a lowde laughter, he desired to giue him some of lesse burden: as for the other I gaue him them, being sure that none could carrie them. But where are these men you promised to come with you.

I told him, without. Who therewpon gaue order to haue them brought in, two after two, euer maintaining the guard without. And as they presented themselues, euer with thankes he would salute me: and caused each of them to haue foure or fve pound of bread giuen them.

This done, I asked him for the corne and ground [district] he promised me.

He told me I should haue it: but he expected to haue all these men lay their armes at his feet, as did his subjects.

I tolde him that was a ceremonie our enemies desired, but neuer our Friends, as we presented ourselves vnto him; yet that he should not doubt of our friendship. The next day my Father would giue him a child of his, in full assurance of our loues, and not only that, but when he should thinke it conuenient, wee would deliuer vnder his subiection the Country of *Manacam* and *Pocoughtaonack* his enemies.

This so contented him, as immediatly with attentive silcuce, with a lowd oration he proclaimed me *Awerowanes* [*i.e.*, a *Werowance*, or subordinate Chief] of *Powhaton*, and

[1608] that all his subjects should so esteeme vs, and no man account vs strangers nor Paspaheghans, but Powhatans, and that the Corne, weomen and Country, should be to vs as to his owne people. This proffered kindnes for many reasons we contemned not, but with the best Languages and signes of thankes I could expresse, I tooke my leauue.

The King rising from his seat, conducted me foorth, and caused each of my men to haue as much more bread as hee could beare: giuing me some in a basket, and as much he sent a board for a present to my Father. Victuals you must know is all the[i]re wealth, and the greatest kindnes they could shew vs.

Arriuing at the Riuer, the Barge was fallen so low [*i.e., down the river*] with the ebbe, though I had giuen order and oft sent to preuent the same, yet the messengers deceiued mee. The Skies being very thicke and rainie, the King vnderstanding this mischance, sent his Sonne and Mamontacke, to conduct mee to a great house sufficient to lodge mee: where entring I saw it hung round with bowes and arrowes.

The Indians vsed all diligence to make vs fires, and giue vs content: the kings Orators presently entertained vs with a kinde oration, with expresse charge that not any should steale, or take our bowes or arrowes, or offer any injury.

Presently after he sent me a quarter of Venizon to stay my stomacke:

In the euening hee sent for mee to come onely with two shot with me. The company I gaue order to stand vpon their guard, and to maintaine two sentries at the ports all night.

To my supper he set before me meate for twenty men, and seeing I could not eate, hee caused it to be giuen to my men: for this is a generall custome, that what they giue, not to take againe, but you must either eate it, giue it away, or carry it with you. Two or three houres we spent in our aun[c]ent discourses; which done, I was with a fire stick lighted to my lodging.

The next day the King conducting mee to the Riuer, shewed me his Canowes, and described vnto me how hee sent them ouer the Baye, for tribute Beades: and also what Countries paid him Beads, Copper, or Skins.

But seeing Captaine *Nuport*, and Maister *Scriuener*, coming a shore, the King returned to his house, and I went to meeete him [*Newport*]. With a trumpet before him, wee marched to the King: who after his old manner kindly receiued him, especially a Boy of thirteen yeares old, called *Thomas Saluage*, whom he gaue him as his Sonne. He requited this kindnes with each of vs a great basket of Beanes. And entertaining him with the former discourse, we passed away that day, and agreed to bargaine the next day, and so returned to our Pinnis.

The next day comming a shore in like order, the King hauing kindly entertained vs with a breakfast, questioned vs in this manner: Why we came armed in that sort, seeing hee was our friend, and had neither bowes nor arrowes; what did wee doubt?

I told him it was the custome of our Country, not doubting of his kindnes any waies: wherewith though hee seemed satisfied, yet Captaine *Nuport* caused all our men to retire to the water side, which was some thirtie score [yards] from thence.

But to preuent the worst, Maister *Scriuener* or I were either the one or other by the Barge: experience had well taught me to beleue his friendship till conuenient opportunity suffred him to betray vs. But quickly this polititian had perceiued my absence, and cunningly sent for me; I sent for Maister *Scriuener* to supply my place: the King would demand for him, I would againe releue him. And they sought to satisfie our suspition with kind Language: and not being agreed to trade for corne, hee desired to see all our Hatchets and Copper together, for which he would giue vs corne. With that auncient tricke the *Chickahamaniens* had oft acquainted me: his offer I refused, offering first to see what hee would giue for one piece. Hee seeming to despise the nature of a Merchant, did scorne to sell: but we freely should giue him, and he liberally would requite vs.

Captain *Nuport* would not with lesse then twelue great Coppers try his kindnes, which he liberally requited with as much corne as at *Chickahamania*, I had for one of lesse proportion. Our Hatchets hee would also haue at his owne rate: for which kindnes hee much seemed to

[1608] affect Captaine *Nuport*. Some few bunches of blew Beades I had, which he much desired, and seeing so few, he offred me a basket of two pecks, and that I drew to be three pecks at the least, and yet [he] seemed contented and desired more. I agreed with him, the next day, for two bushells: for the ebbe now constrained vs to returne to our Boate, although he earnestly desired vs to stay dinner which was a prouiding; and [which] being ready he sent aboard after vs, which was bread and venison sufficient for fiftie or sixtie persons.

The next day hee sent his Sonne in the morning, not to bring a shore with vs any pieces, least his weomen and children should feare. Captaine *Nuports* good beliefe would haue satisfied that request. Yet twentie or twentie fife short we got a shore: the King importuning mee to leaue my armes a board, much misliking my sword pistol and target. I told him the men that slew my Brother [see p. 19] with the like tearmes had perswaded me, and being vnarmed shot at vs, and so betraide vs.

He oft entreated Captaine *Nuport* that his men might leaue their armes: which [men] still hee [*Newport*] commanded to the water side.

This day we spent in trading for blew Beads: and hauing neare fraughted our Barge, Captaine *Nuport* returned with them that came abord, leauing me and Maister *Scriuener* a shore, to follow in Canowes. Into one I got with sixe of our men, which beeing la[u]nched, a stones cast from the shore stuck fast in the O[o]se.

Master *Scriuener* seeing this example, with seuen or eight more passed the dreadfull bridge, thinking to haue found deeper water on the other creeke: but they were inforced to stay, with such entertainment as a saluage [could afford; who] being forced ashore with wind and raine, hauing in his Canow, as commonly they haue, his house and houshold, instantly set vp a house of mats, which succoured them from the storme.

The Indians seeing me pestred in the O[o]se, called to me: six or seuen of the Kings chiefe men threw off their skins, and to the middle in O[o]se, came to bear me out on their heads. Their importunacie caused me better to

like the Canow than their curtesie, excusing my deniall for feare to fall into the O[o]se: desiring them to bring me some wood, fire, and mats to couer me, and I would content them. Each presently gaue his helpe to satisfie my request, which paines a horse would scarce haue indured: yet a couple of bells richly contented them.

The Emperor sent his Seaman *Mantua*s in the euening with bread and victuall for me and my mcn: he no more scrupulous then the rest seemed to take a pride in shewing how little he regarded that miserable cold and durty passage, though a dogge would scarce haue indured it. This kindnes I found, when I litle expected lesse then a mischiefe: but the blacke night parting our companies, ere midnight the flood serued to carry vs aboard [*i.e., the Barge*].

The next day we came ashore, the King [spoke] with a solemne discourse, causing all to depart but his principall men: and this was the effect.

When as hee perceiued that we had a desire to inuade *Monacum*, against whom he was no professed enemy: yet thus farre he would assist vs in his enterprise.

First hee would send his spies, perfectly to vnderstand their strength and ability to fight, with which he would acquaint vs himselfe. Captaine *Nuport* would not be seene in it himselfe, being great *Werowances*. They [*Powhatan and Newport*] would stay at home: but I, Maister *Scriuener*, and two of his [*Powhatan's*] Sonnes, and *Opechankanough* the King of *Pamaunke* should haue roo. of his men to goe before as though they were hunting; they giuing vs notise where was the aduantage, we should kill them: the weomen and young children he wished we should spare, and bring them to him. Only 100. or 150. of our men he held sufficient for this exploit. Our boats should stay at the falls, where we might hew timber, which we might conuey, each man a piece, till we were past the stones; and there joyne them to passe our men by [*over the*] water. If any wereshot, hismen should bring them backe to our boats.

This faire tale had almost made Captaine *Nuport* vndertake by this meanes to discouer the South sea: which will not be without trecherie, if wee ground our intent vpon his constancie.

[1608]

[1608]

This day we spent in trading, dancing, and much mirth. The King of *Pamaunke* sent his messenger [to me] (as yet not knowing Captaine *Nuport*) to come vnto him: who had long expected mee, desiring also my Father to visite him. The messenger stayed to conduct vs: but *Powhatan* vnderstanding that we had Hatchets lately come from *Paspahegh*, desired the next day to trade with vs, and not to go further. This new tricke he cunningly put vpon him, but onely to haue what he listed, and to try whether we would go or stay.

Opechankenuough's messenger returned [answer], that wee would not come.

The next day his [*Opechancanough's*] Daughter came to entreat me, shewing her Father had hurt his legge, and much sorrowed he could not see me.

Captaine *Nuport* being not to bee perswaded to goe, in that *Powhatan* had desired vs to stay: sent her away with the like answer.

Yet the next day, vpon better consideration, intreatie preuailed; and wee anchored at *Cinquoateck*, the first twaine [town] aboue the parting of the riuier, where dwelled two Kings of *Pamaunke*, Brothers to *Powhatan*; the one called *Opitchapam*, the other *Katatough*. To these I went a shore, who kindly intreated mee and Maister *Scriuener*, sending some presents aboard to Captaine *Nuport*, whilst we were trucking with these Kings.

Opechankanough his wife, weomen, and children came to mee: with a naturall kind affection hee seemed to reioyce to see me.

Captaine *Nuport* came a shore, with many kind discourses wee passed that forenoone: and after dinner, Captaine *Nuport* went about with the Pinnis to *Menapacant*, which is twenty miles by water, and not one by land. *Opechankanough* conducted me and Maister *Scriuener* by land: where hauing built a feasting house a purpose to entertaine vs, with a kind Oration, after their manner, and his best prouision, [he] kindly welcomed vs. That day he would not trucke, but did his best to delight vs with content:

Captaine *Nuport* arriued towards euening; whom the King presented with sixe great platters of fine bread, and *Pansarowmanna*.

The next day till noone wee traded: the King feasted all the company; and the afternoone was spent in playing, dauncing, and delight. By no meanes hee would haue vs depart till, the next day, he had feasted vs with venison; for which he had sent, hauing spent his first and second prouision in expecting our comming:

The next day, he performed his promise, giuing more to vs three, then would haue sufficed 30. and in that we carried not away what we left, hee sent it after vs to the Pinnis. With what words or signes of loue he could expresse, we departed.

Captaine *Nuport* in the Pinnis, leauing mee in the Barge to digge a rocke, where wee supposed a Mine, at *Cinquaotck*: which done, ere midnight, I arriued at *Weracomoco*, where our Pinnis [had] anchored, being 20. miles from *Cinquaotcke*.

The next day, we tooke leaue of *Powhatan*: who, in regard of his kindness, gaue him an *Indian*. He [was] well affected to goe with him for England in steed of his Sonne [*i.e.*, *T. Salvage*, see p. 27]: the cause, I assure me, was to know our strength and Countries condition:

The next day we arriued at *Kiskiack*. The people [there] so scornefully entertained vs, as with what signes of scorne and discontent we could, we departed: and returned to our Fort with 250. bushells of Corne [on 9 March 1608].

[pp. 103, 406.]

Our president, being not wholy recouered of his sicknes, in discharging his Piece, brake and split his hand off, [of] which he is not yet [2 June 1608] well recovered.

At Captaine *Nuports* arriuall [9 March 1608], wee were victualled for twelue weeks: and hauing furnished him of what hee thought good, hee set saile for England the tenth of April [1608]. Master *Scruener* and my selfe, with our shallop, accompanied him to Cape *Hendrick* [*i.e.*, *Henry*]: *Powhatan* hauing for a farrewell, sent him fие or sixe mens loadings, with Turkeys for [the] swords which hee sent [pp. 106, 406.] him in [on] our return to the fort:

We discouered the riuier of *Nausam*[*on*]d, a proud warlike Nation, as well we may testifie, [from] at our first arriuall at *Chesiapack*: but that iniury Captaine *Nuport* well reuenged at his returne. Where some of them intising him to their

- [1608] Ambuscadoes by a daunce, hee perciuing their intent, with a volly of musket shot, slew one, and shot one or two more, as themselues confesse.

The King at our ariuall sent for me to come vnto him. I sent him word what commodities I had to exchange for wheat, and if he would, as had the rest of his Neighbours, conclude a Peace, we were contented.

At last he came downe before the Boate which rid at anchor some fortie yards from the shore. He signified to me to come a shore, and sent a Canow with foure or fife of his men: two whereof I desired to come aboard and to stay, and I would send two to talke with their King a shore. To this hee agreed. The King wee presented with a piece of Copper, which he kindly excepted [*accepted*], and sent for victualls to entertaine the messengers.

Maister *Scriuener* and my selfe also, after that, went a shore. The King kindly feasted vs, requesting vs to stay to trade till the next day. Which hauing done, we returned to the Fort.

This riuier is a musket shot broad, each side being should bayes; a narrow channell, but three fadom [deep]: his course for eightene miles, almost directly South, and by West where beginneth the first inhabitants: for a mile it turneth directly East, towards the West, a great bay, and a white chaukie Iland conuenient for a Fort: his next course South, where within a quarter of a mile, the riuier diuideth in two, the neck a plaine high Corne field, the wester bought a highe plaine likewise, the Northeast answerable in all respects. In these plaines are planted abundance of houses and people; they may containe 1000. Acres of most excellent fertill ground: so sweete, so pleasant, so beautifull, and so strong a prospect, for an inuincible strong City, with so many commodities, that I know as yet I haue not seene.

This is within one daies iourney of *Charwwonocke*, the riuier falleth into the Kings [*i.e.*, *Powhatan's*] riuier, within twelue miles of *Cape-hendicke* [*i.e.*, *Cape Henry*].

At our Fcrt, the tooles we had, were so ordinarily stolen by the Indians, as necessity inforced vs to correct

their brauing theeuerie: for he that stole to day, durst come againe the next day. One amongst the rest, hauing stolen two swords, I got the Counsels consent to set in the bilboes. The next day, with three more, he came, with their wooden swordes, in the midst of our men to steale. Their custome is to take any thing they can ceaze off: onely the people of *Pamaunke* wee haue not found stealing, but what others can steale, their King receiueth. I bad them depart, but flourishing their swords, they seemed to defend what they could catch but out of our hands: his pride vrged me to turne him from amongst vs, whereat he offred to strike me with his sword; which I preuented, striking him first. The rest off[e]ring to reuenge the blow, receiuued such an encounter, and fled. The better to affright them, I pursued them with fve or sixe shot, and so chased them out of the Iland[, or rather, the Peninsula on which James Town stood].

The beginner of this broyle, litle expecting by his carriage, [that] we durst haue resisted, hauing, euen till that present, not beeene contradicte, especially them of *Paspahagh*: these Indians within one houre, hauing by other Saluages then in the Fort, vnderstood that I threatened to be reuenged, came presently of themselues, and fell to working vpon our wears which were then in hand by other Saluages: who seeing their pride so incountred, were so submissie, and willing to doe any thing as might be. And with tiembling feare desired to be friends, within three daies after.

From *Nawsamond*, which is 30. miles from vs, the King sent vs a Hatchet which they had stollen from vs at our being there: the messenger, as is the custome, also wee well rewarded and contented.

The twenty of Aprill [1608], being at worke, in hewing downe Trees, and setting Corne, an alarum caused vs [¶ 409.] with all spedee to take our armes, each expecting a new assault of the Saluages: but vnderstanding it [to be] a Boate vnder saile, our doubts were presently satisfied with the happy sight of Maister *Nelson*, his many perrills [¶ 105 409.] of extreame stormes and tempests [passed], his ship well as his company could testifie, his care in sparing our

[1608] prouision was well: but the prouidence [*provider*] thereof, as also of our stones, Hatchets and other tooles (onely ours excepted) which of all the rest was most necessary: which might inforce vs to thinke [him] either a seditious traitor to our action, or a most vnconscionable deceiuer of our treasures.

[1608, 409] This happy arriuall of Maister *Nelson* in the *Phenix*, hauing beeene then about three monethes missing after Captaine *Nuports* arriuall, being to all our expectations lost: albeit that now at the last, hauing beeene long crossed with tempestuous weather and contrary winds, his so vnxpected comming did so rauish vs with exceeding joy, that now we thought our selues as well fitted as our harts could wish, both with a competent number of men, as also for all other needfull prouisions, till a further supply should come vnto vs.

[1608, 409] Whereupon the first thing that was concluded was that my selfe and Maister *Scruener*, should with 70. men goe with the best meanes we could prouide, to discouer beyond the Falls, as in our iudgements conueniently we might. Six or seauen daies we spent only in trayning our men to march, fight, and scirmish in the woods. Their willing minds to this action so quickned their vnderstanding in this exercise as, in all iudgements, wee were better able to fight with *Powhatans* whole force, in our order of battle amongst the Trees (for Thicks there is few) then the Fort was to repulse 400. at the first assault, with some tenne or twenty shot not knowing what to doe, nor how to vse a Piece.

Our warrant being sealed, Maister *Nelson* refused to assisse vs with the voluntary Marriners and himself, as he promised, vnlesse we would stand bound to pay the hire for shippe and Marriners, for the time they stayed. And further there was some controuersie, through the diuersitie of Contrary opinions: some alleadging that how profitable, and to what good purpose soeuer our iourney should portend, yet our commission commanding no certaine designe, we should be taxed for the most indiscreete men in the world, besides the wrong we should doe to Captaine *Nuport*, to whom only all discoueries did belong, and to no other:

[1608]

The meanes for guides, besides the vncertaine courses of the riuier from which we could not erre much, each night would fortifie vs in two houres better then that they first called the Fort, their Townes vpon the riuier each within one dayes iourney of other, besides our ordinary prouision, might well be supposed to adde relief: for truck and dealing only, but in loue and peace, as with the rest. If they assalted vs, their Townes they cannot defend, nor their luggage so conuey that we should not share: but admit the worst, 16. daies prouision we had of Cheese Oatmeale and bisket; besides our randevous we could, and might, haue hid in the ground. With sixe men, Captaine *Martin* would haue vndertaken it himselfe, leauing the rest to defend the Fort and plant our Corne.

Yet no reason could be reason to proceede forward, though we were going aboard to set saile. These discontents caused so many doubts to some, and discouragement to others, as our iourney ended. Yet some of vs procured petitions to set vs forward, only with hope of our owne confusions [*disasters in the expedition*].

Our next course was to turne husbandmen, to fell Trees and set Corne. Fiftie of our men we imployed in this seruice; the rest kept the Fort, to doe the command of the president and Captaine *Martin*.

30. dayes [? from 4 May to 2 June 1608] the ship [*the Phænix*] lay expecting the triall of certain matters which for some cause I keepe priuate.

The next exploit was an Indian hauing stolen an Axe, was so pursued by Maister *Scriuener* and them next him, as he threw it downe: and flying, drew his bow at any that durst encounter him.

Within foure or fife dayes after, Maister *Scriuener* and I, being a litle from the Fort, among the Corne, two [pp 106, 410] Indians, each with a cudgell, and all newly painted with *Terrasigillata*, came circling about me as though they would have clubed me like a hare. I knew their faining loue is towards me not without a deadly hatred: but to preuent the worst, I calling maister *Scriuener* retired to the Fort.

The Indians seeing me suspect them, with good tearmes, asked me for some of their men whom they would beate;

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and went with me into our Fort. Finding one that lay ordinarily with vs, only for a spie; they offered to beat him. I in perswading them to forbear, they offered to beginne with me; being now foure: for two other arrayed in like manner, came in on the other side the Fort.

Wherewpon I caused to shut the Ports, and apprehend[ed] them.

The president and Counsell, being presently acquainted, remembiring at the first assault [*p. 7*], they came in like manner, and neuer else but against [*for*] some villanie, concluded to commit them to prison, and expect the euent. Eight more we ceased at that present.

An houre after came three or foure other strangers extraordinarily fitted with arrowes, skinnes, and shooting gloves: their iealousie and feare bewrayed their bad intent, as also their suspitious departure.

The next day, came first an Indian, then another, as Embassadors for their men. They desired to speake with me. Our discourse was, that what Spades, Shouells, swords, or tooles they had stolne to bring home: if not, the next day, they should hang

[pp. 106, 110] The next newes was, they had taken two of our men ranging in the woods (which mischiefe no punishment will preuent but hanging): and these they would, should redeeme their owne 16. or 18.; thus brauing vs to our doores.

We desired the president, and Captaine *Martin*, that afternoone to sally vpon them, that they might but know what we durst do: and at night, mand our Barge, and burnt their Townes, and spoiled and destroyed what we could.

But they brought our men, and freely deliuered them. The president released one. The rest we brought well guarded, to Morning and Euening prayers. Our men all in armes, their trembling feare then caused them to[o] much sorrow, which till then scoffed and scorned at what we durst doe.

The Counsell concluded, that I should terrifie them with some torture, to know if I could know their intent.

The next day, I bound one in hold [*confinement*] to the maine Mast [*i.e., of the Phoenix*]: and presenting sixe Muskets with match in the cockes, forced him to desire life. To answere my demaunds he could not: but one

of his *Comouodos* was of the counsell of *Paspahégh*, that could satisfie me: [1608]

I releasing him out of sight, I affrighted the other, first with the rack, then with Muskets; which seeing, he desired me to stay, and hee would confesse to this execution.

Maister *Scriuener* came, his discourse was to this effect.

That *Paspehegh*, the *Chickahamanar*, *Youghianum*, *Pamaunka*, *Mattapanient*, and *Kiskrack*: these Nations were al[!] together a hunting that tooke me [pp. 15, 70, 152]. *Paspahégh* and *Chicahamanya* had intended to surprise vs at worke, to haue had our tools. *Powhatan* and al his would seeme friends, till Captaine *Nuports* returne, that he had againe his man, which he called *Namontack*: where, with a great feast, hee would so en-amor Captain *Nuport* and his men, as they should ceaze on him. And the like traps would be laied for the rest.

This trap for our tooles, we suspected [to be] the chiefe occasion that foure daies before, *Powhatan* had sent the boy [*Thomas Salvage*, pp. 27 and 31], he had to vs, with many Turkies to Maister *Scriuener* and me: vnderstanding I would go vp vnto his Countries to destroy them; and he doubted [feared] it the more, in that I so oft practised my men, whose shooting he heard to his owne lodging, that much feared his wifes and children.

We sent him word, we entended no such thing, but only to goe to *Powhatan*, to seeke stones to make Hatchets; except his men shot at vs, as *Paspahégh* had told vs they would: which if they did shoothe but one arrowe, we would destroy them. And, least this mischiefe might happen, sent the boy [*Thomas Salvage*] to acquaint him thus much; and request[ed] him to send vs *Weanock*, one of his subiects for a guide.

The boy he returned backe with his Chest and apparell, which then we had giuen him: desiring another for him. The cause was, he was practising with the *Chukahamanias*, as the boy suspected some villanie, by their extraordinary resort and secret conference, from whence they would send him. The boy we keepe. Now we would send him many messengers and presents, the guide we desired he sent vs: and withall requested vs to returne him, either the boy or some other. But none he could haue. And that day these

- [1608] Indians were apprehended, his sonne with others that had loaded at our Fort, returned, and being out of the Fort, rayled on me, to diuers of our men, to be enemies to him, and to the Chika[ha]manias.

Not long after, *Weanock* that had bin with us for our guide, whom wee kept to haue conducted vs in another iourny, with a false excuse returned: and secretly after him, *Amocis* the *Paspahayan*, who alwaies they kept amongst vs for a spie, whom, the better to auoide suspition, presently after they came to beate away:

These presumptions induced me to take any occasion, not onely to try the honesty of *Amocis* the spie, but also the meaning of these cunning trickes of their Emperour of *Powhatan*; whose true meaning Captaine *Martin* most confidently pleaded.

The confession of *Macanoe*, which was the counsellor of *Paspahegh*: first I, then Maister *Scriuener*, vpon their seuerall examinations, found by them all confirmed, that *Paspahegh* and *Chickahammania* did hate vs, and intended some mischiefe: and who they were that tooke me [p. 15]; the names of them that stole our tooles and swords, and that *Powhatan* receiued them they all agreed. Certaine vollies of shot we caused to be discharged, which caused each other to think that their fellowes had beene slaine.

Powhatan vnderstanding we detained certaine Saluages, [pp. 106-107, sent [i.e., in May 1608] his Daughter, a child of tenne yeares old: which, not only for feature, countenance, and proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people: but for wit and spirit, [is] the only *Nonpariel* of his Country. This hee sent by his most trustie messenger, called *Rawhurt*, as much exceeding in deformitie of person; but of a subtil wit and crafty vnderstanding.

He, with a long circumstance, told mee, how well *Powhatan* loued and respected mee; and in that I should not doubt any way of his kindnesse, he had sent his child, which he most esteemed, to see me; a Deare and bread besides, for a present: desiring me that the Boy [*Thomas Salvage*] might come againe, which he loued exceedingly. His little Daughter hee had taught this lesson also, not taking notice at all of the Indeans that had beene prisoners three daies, till that morning that she saw their fathers

and friends come quietly, and in good tearmes to entreat their libertie.

[1608]

Opechankanough sent also vnto vs, that for his sake, we would release two that were his friends: and for a token, sent me his shooting Gloue and Bracer, which the day our men was taken vpon; separating himselfe from the rest a long time, intreated to speake with me, where in token of peace, he had preferred me the same. Now all of them hauing found their peremptorie conditions but to increase our malice; which they seeing vs begin to threaten to destroy them, as familiarly as before, without suspition or feare, came amongst vs, to begge libertie for their men.

In the afternoone, they being gone, we guarded them as before to the Church; and after prayer, gaue them to *Pocahuntas*, the Kings Daughter, in regard of her fathers kindnesse in sending her. After hauing well fed them, as all the time of their imprisonment, we gaue them their bowes, arrowes, or what else they had; and with [their] much content, sent them packing. *Pocahuntas* also we requited with such trifles as contented her, to tel that we had vsed the *Paspaheyans* very kindly in so releasing them.

[pp. 107, 410.]

The next day, we had suspition of some other practise for an Ambuscado; but perfectly wee could not discouer it.

Two daies after, a *Paspaheyan* came to shew vs a glistening Minerall stone, and with signes demonstrating it to be in great abundance like vnto Rockes: with some dozen more, I was sent to seeke to digge some quantitie, and the Indean to conduct me. But suspecting this some trick to delude vs, for to get some Copper of vs; or with some ambuscado to betray vs, seeing him falter in his tale, being two miles on our way, [we] led him ashore: where abusing vs from place to place, and so seeking either to haue drawne vs with him into the woods, or to haue giuen vs the slippe; I shewed him [the] Copper, which I promised to haue giuen him, if he had performed his promise. But for his scoffing and abusing vs, I gaue him twentie lashes with a Rope; and his bowes and arrowes, bidding him shoote if he duist: and so let him goe.

In all this time, our men being all or the most part well

[1608] recouered, and we not willing to trifle away more time then necessitie enforced vs vnto: we thought good, for the better content of the aduenturers, in some reasonable sort to fraught home Maister Nelson, with Cedar wood. About which, our men going with willing minds, [it] was in very good time effected, and the ship sent for England [*on 2nd June 1608, see p. 109.*]. Wee now remaining being in good health, all our men wel contented, free from mutinies, in loue one with another, and as we hope in a continuall peace with the Indians: where we doubt not but by Gods gracious assistance, and the aduenturers willing minds and speedie futherance to so honorable an action, in after times to see our Nation to enjoy a Country, not onely exceeding pleasant for habitation, but also very profitable for commerce in generall; no doubt pleasing to almighty God, honourable to our gracious Soueraigne, and commodious generally to the whole Kingdome.

F I N I S .



A MAP OF VIRGINIA.

VVITH A DESCRIPTI-
ON OF THE COVNTREY, THE
Commodities, People, Govern-
ment and Religion.

*VWritten by Captaine S M I T H , sometimes Go-
vernour of the Country.*

WHEREVNTO IS ANNEXED THE
proceedings of those Colonies, since their first
departure from England, with the discourses,
Orations, and relations of the Salvages,
and the accidents that befell
them in all their Journies
and discoveries

*TAKEN FAITHFULLY AS THEY
were written out of the writings of*

DOCTOR RVSSELL. RICHARD WIEFIN.
Tho. STVDLEY. WILL. PHETTIPLACE.
ANAS TODKILL. NATHANIEL POVELL.
IEFFRA ABOT. RICHARD POTS.

And the relations of divers other diligent observers there
present then, and now many of them in England.

By VV. S.



AT OXFORD,
Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612.

[The first part of this Work is evidently an expanded and revised text of that "Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them" (p. 444), which President JOHN SMITH sent home, about November 1608, to the Council in London, as the result of his explorations in Chesapeake Bay in the previous summer.

That this book of travels &c. should have been printed at the Oxford University Press is a most singular fact.

The Earl of LEICESTER, then Chancellor of the University, gave, in 1585, that University a new printing press: and JOSEPH BARNES was, at the same time, appointed University Printer, which office he held till his death, about 1617.

The hand printing presses in England were jealously registered, and locked up every night, to prevent surreptitious printing; all through the lifetime of our Author: and the Company of Stationers of London especially watched with a keen jealousy the printing operations of the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, who each possessed a single hand press. See W. HERBERT's edition of J. AMES's *Typographical Antiquities*, iii, 1398, Ed. 1790, 4to.

This solitary hand printing press at Oxford, usually produced sermons, theological and learned Works, &c.; in the midst of which, this book of travels crops up in a startling manner.

Why could not, or would not SMITH get it printed in London? Had the revision of its second Part by the Rev. Dr. SIMMONDS anything to do with the printing at Oxford? Who was T. ABBAY, who risked the expense of publication? These nuts we must leave for others to crack.

Of course, being printed at Oxford, this book was not registered at Stationers' Hall, London.

For its bibliography, see p. cxxx: from which it would appear, that, while the eight other Works of Captain SMITH have been reprinted once or oftener during the last century, this is the first reprint of the *Map of Virginia* as it originally appeared.

It is sometimes misnamed the Oxford *tract*; but it is rather a book than a tract.]

TO THE HAND.

[1612]

TEast I should wrong any in dedicating this Booke to one: I have concluded it shal be particular to none. I found it only dedicated to a Hand, and to that hand I addresse it. Now for that this businesse is common to the world, this booke may best satisfie the world, because it was penned in the Land it treateth of. If it bee disliked of men, then I would recommend it to women, for being dearely bought, and farre sought, it should be good for Ladies. When all men reiect Christopher Columbus: that ever renowned Queene Izabell of Spaine, could pawne her Iewels to supply his wants; whom all the wise men (as they thought themselves) of that age contemned. I need not say what was his worthiness, her noblenesse, and their ignorance, that so scornfully did spit at his wants, seeing the whole world is enriched with his golden fortunes. Cannot this successfull example moue the incredulous of this time to consider, to conceaue, and apprehend Virginia, which might be, or breed vs a second India? hath not England an Izabell, as well as Spaine, nor yet a Columbus as well as Geneua? yes surely it hath, whose desires are no lesse then was worthy Columbus, their certainties more, their experiences no way wanting, only there wants but an Izabell, so it were not from Spaine.

T. A.



Because many doe desire to knowe the maner of their language, I haue inserted these few words.

[1607-9]

K A ka torawincs yowo. What call you this.
Nemarough. a man.
Crenepo. a woman.
Marowanchesso. a boy.

Yehawkans. Houses.

Matchcores. Skins, or garments.

Mockasins. Shooes.

Tussan. Beds.

Pokatawer. Fire.

Attawp. A bowe.

Attonce. Arrowes.

Monacookes. Swords.

Aimoughhowgh. A Target.

Pawcussacks. Gunnes.

Tomahacks. Axes.

Tockahacks. Pickaxes.

Pamesacks. Kniues.

Accowprets. Sheares.

Pawpecones. Pipes.

Mattassin. Copper.

Vssawassassin. Iron, Brasse, Silver, or any white metal.

Musses. Woods.

Atasskuss. Leaues, weeds, or grasse.

Chepsm. Land.

Shacquohocan. A stone.

Wepenter, a cookold.

Suckahanna. Water.

- Noughmass.* Fish. [1607-9]
Copotone. Sturgion.
Weghshaughes. Flesh.
Sawwehone. Bloud.
Netoppew. Friends.
Marrapough. Enemies.
Maskapow. The worst of the enemies.
Mawchick chammay. The best of friends.
Casacunnakack, peya quagh acquaintan vitasantasough. In how
 many daies will there come hether any more English
 ships?

Their numbers.

- Necut.* 1.
Ningh. 2.
Nuss. 3.
Yowgh. 4.
Paranske. 5.
Comotinch. 6.
Toppawoss. 7.
Nusswash. 8.
Kekatawgh. 9.
Keskeke. [10.]

They count no more but by tennes as followeth.

- Case,* how many.
Ninghsapookeksku. 20.
Nussapookeksku. 30.
Yowghapookeksku. 40.
Parankestassapookeksku. 50.
Comatinchtassapookeksku. 60.
Nussswashtassapookeksku. 80.
Toppawousstassapookeksku. 70.
Kekataughtassapookeksku. 90.
Necuttoughysinough. 100.
Necuttwevnquaough. 1000.

- Rawcosowghs.* Daies.
Keskowghes. Sunnes.
Toppquough. Nights.
Nepawweshowghs. Moones,

[1607-9] *Pawpaxsoughes.* Yeares.

Pummahump Starres.

Osies. Heavens.

Okes. Gods.

Quyoughcosucks. Pettie Gods, and their affinitics.

Righcomoughes. Deaths.

Kekughes. Liues.

Mowchick woyaragh tawgh noeragh haquere mechcr. I am
verie 'hungrie' what shall I eate?

Tawnor nehiegh Powhatan. where dwels Powwhatan.

Mache, nehiegh yowrowgh, orapaks. Now he dwels a great
way hence at orapaks.

Vtapitchewayne anpechitchs nehawper werowacomoco. You lie,
he staide ever at werowocomoco.

Kator nehiegh mattagh neer vtapitchewayne. Truely he is
there I doe not lie.

*Spaughtynere keragh werowance mawmarinough kekatenwawgh
peyaquaugh.* Run you then to the king mawmarynough
and bid him come hither.

Vtteke, e peya weyack wighwhip. Get you gone, and come
againe quickly.

*Kekaten pokahontas patiaquagh niugh tanks manotyens neer
mowchick rawrenock audowgh.* Bid Pokahontas bring
hither two little Baskets, and I wil giue her white
beads to make her a chaine.

F I N I S .





THE DESCRIPTION OF VIRGINIA BY CAPTAINE Smith.



IRGINIA is a Country in *America*, that [1607-9] lyeth betweene the degrees of 34 and 44 of the north latitude. The bounds thereof on the East side are the great Ocean. On the South lyeth *Florida*: on the North *nova Francia*. As for the West thereof, the limits are vnknowne.

*The
latitude.
[p. 343]*

Of all this country wee purpose not to speake, but only of that part which was planted by the English men in the yeare of our Lord, 1606 [*i.e., according to the old style of reckoning the year from the 25th of March; Smith, therefore, here means the winter of 1606-7.*] And this is under the degrees 37. 38. and 39. The temperature of this countrie doth agree well with English constitutions being once seasoned to the country. Which appeared by this, that though by many occasions our people fell sicke; yet did they recover by very small meanes and continued in health, though there were other great causes, not only to haue made them sicke, but even to end their daies, &c.

The sommer is hot as in *Spaine*; the winter colde as in *Fraunce* or *England*. The heat of sommer is in Iune, Iulie, and August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemensie of the heat. The chiefe of winter is halfe December, January, February, and halfe March. The colde is extreame sharpe, but here the proverbe is true that *no extreame long continueth*.

[p. 344]
*The tem-
perature.*

[1607-9] In the yeare 1607[-8]. was an extiaordinary frost in most of *Europe*, and this frost was founde as extreame in *Virginia*. But the next yeare for 8. or 10. daies of ill weather, other 14 daies would be as Sommer.

The windes. The windes here are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purifie the aire, I haue seldome either seene or [2] heard in *Europe*. From the Southwest came the greatest gustes with thunder and heat. The Northwest winde is commonly coole, and bringeth faire weather with it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the East and South-East as from the *Barmadas*, fogs and raines.

Some times there are great droughts, other times much raine, yet great necessity of neither, by reason we see not but that all the variety of needfull fruits in *Europe* may be there in great plenty by the industry of men, as appeareth by those we there planted.

The entrances. There is but one entraunce by sea into this country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly Bay, the widenesse whereof is neare 18. or 20. miles. The cape on the South side is called *Cape Henry* in honour of our most noble Prince. The shew of the land there, is a white hilly sand like vnto the Downes, and along the shores great plentie of Pines and Firres.

Cape Charles The north *Cape* is called *Cape Charles* in honour of the worthy Duke of Yorke.

The country. Within is a country that may haue the prerogatiue over the most pleasant places of *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*, for large and pleasant navigable rivers: heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation being of our constitutions, were it fully manured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are mountaines, hils, plaines, valleyes, rivers and brookes all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay compassed but for the mouth with fruitfull and delightsome land. In the Bay and rivers are many Isles both great and small, some woody, some plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This Bay lieth North and South in which the water floweth neare 200 miles and hath a channell for 140 miles, of depth betwixt 7 and 15 fadome, holding in breadth for the most part 10 or 14 miles. From the head of the Bay at the north, the land is mounta[i]nous, and so in a

manner from thence by a Southwest line; So that the [1607-9] more Southward, the farther of[f] from the Bay are those mountaines. From which, fall [3] certaine brookes, which after come to fие principall navigable rivers. These run from the Northwest into the South east, and so into the west side of the Bay, where the fall of every River is within 20 or 15 miles one of an other.

The mountaines are of diverse natures, for at the head of the Bay the rockes are of a composition like milstones. Some of marble, &c. And many peeces of christall we found as throwne downe by water from the mountaines. For in winter these mountaines are covered with much snow, and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in the narrow valleyes which yet is scarce perceived being once in the rivers. These waters wash from the rocks such glistering tinctures that the ground in some places seemeth as gilded, where both the rocks and the earth are so splendent to behold, *that better iudgements then ours might haue beene perswaded, they contained more then probabilities.*

The vesture of the earth in most places doeth manifestly proue the nature of the soile to be lusty and very rich. The coulor of the earth we found in diverse places, resemblmeth *bole Armoniac, terra sigillata ad lemnia, Fullers earth, marle, and divers other such appearances.* But generally for the most part the earth is a black sandy mould, in some places a fat slimy clay, in other places a very barren gravell. But the best ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnessse of trees or abundance of weedes, &c.

The country is not mounta[i]nous nor yet low but such pleasant plaine hils and fert[i]le valleyes, one prettily crossing an other, and watered so conveniently with their sweete brookes and christall springs, as if art it selfe had devised them.

By the rivers are many plaine marshes containing some 20, some 100, some 200 Acres, some more, some lesse. Other plaines there are fewe, but only where the Savages inhabit: but all overgrowne with trees and weedes being a plaine wildernes as God first made it.

On the west side of the Bay, wee said were 5. faire and

The mountaines

The soile.

The valleyes.

Plaines.
L 3461

[1607-9] [4] delightfull navigable rivers, of which wee will nowe proceed to report.

The river Powhatan.

The first of those rivers and the next to the mouth of the Bay, hath his course from the West and by North. The name of this river they call *Powhatan* accord[ding] to the name of a principall country that lieth vpon it. The mouth of this river is neere three miles in breadth, yet doe the shoules force the Channell so neere the land that a Sacre will overshoot it at point blanck. This river is navigable 100 miles, the shouldes and soundings are here needlesse to see expressed. It falleth from Rockes farre west in a country inhabited by a nation that they call *Monacan*. But where it commeth into our discoverie it is *Powhatan*. In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are fallies, rockes, showles, &c., which makes it past navigation any higher. Thence in the running downward, the river is enriched with many goodly brookes, which are maintained by an infinit number of small rundles and pleasant springs that disperse themselves for best service, as doe the vaines of a mans body.

The branches.

From the South there falleth into this river. First the pleasant river of *Apamatuck*: next more to the East are the two rivers of *Quyoughcohanocke*. A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 prettie brookes and creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of *Warraskoyac*; then the river of *Nandsamund*, and lastly the brooke of *Chisapeack*.

From the North side is the river of *Chickahamania*, the backe river of *Iames Towne*; another by the *Cedar Isle* where we lived 10 weekes vpon oisters, then a convenient harbour for fisher boats or smal boats at *Kecoughtan*, that so conveniently turneth it selfe into *Bayes* and *Creeks* that make that place very pleasant to inhabit, their corne-fields being girded therein in a manner as *Peninsulaes*.

The most of these rivers are inhabited by severall nations, or rather families. [which are] Of the name of the rivers. They haue also in every of those places some Gouernour, as their king, which they call *Werowances*.

Iames Towne

[p. 347]

In a *Peninsula* on the North side of this river are the English planted in a place by them called *Iames* [5] Towne, in honour of the Kings most excellent Maiestie: vpon which side are also many places vnder the *Werowances*.

The first and next the rivers mouth, are the *Kecoughtans*, [1607-9] who besides their women and children, haue not past 20. fighting men. The *Paspaheghes*, on whose land is seated the English Colony, some 40. miles from the Bay, haue not passed 40. The river called *Cluckahamama* [has] neere 200. The *Weanocks* 100. The *Arrowhatocks* 30. The place called *Powhatan*, some 40. On the South side [of] this river, the *Appamatucks* haue 60 fighting men. The *Quiyougcohanocks*, 25. The *Warraskoyacks* 40. The *Nandsamunds* 200. The *Chesapeacks* are able to make 100. Of this last place the *Bay* beareth the name. In all these places is a severall commander, which they call *Werowance*, except the *Chickhamanians*, who are governed by the Priestes and their Assistants of their Elders called *Caw-cawwassoughes*. In somer no place affordeth more plentie of *Sturgeon*, nor in winter more abundance of fowle, especially in the time of frost. There was once taken 52 *Sturgeons* at a draught, at another draught 68. From the later end of May till the end of June are taken few, but yong *Sturgeons* of 2 foot or a yard long. From thence till the midst of September, them of 2 or three yards long and fewe others. And in 4 or 5 hours with one nette were ordinarily taken 7 or 8: often more, seldome lesse. In the small rivers all the yeare there is good plentie of small fish, so that with hookes those that would take paines had sufficient.

Foureteene miles Northward from the river *Powhatan*, is the river *Pamavnke*, which is navigable 60 or 70 myles, but with Catches and small Barkes 30 or 40 myles farther. At the ordinary flowing of the salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches.

R. Pa-
mavnke.

On the South side inhabit the people of *Youghtanund*, who haue about 60 men for warres. On the North branch *Mattapament*, who haue 30 men. Where this river is divided, the Country is called *Pamavnke* [6], and nourisheth neere 300 able men. About 25 miles lower on the North side of this river is *Werawocomoco*, where their great King inhabited when Captain Smith was deliuered him prisoner; yet there are not past 40 able men. But now he hath abandoned that, and liueth at *Orapakes* by *Youghtanund* in the wildernes. 10 or 12 myles lower,

The in-
habitants

[1607-9] on the South side of this river is *Chiskiack*, which hath some 40 or 50 men. These, as also *Apamatuck*, *Irrohatock*, and *Powhatan*, are their great kings chiefe alliance and inhabitance. The rest (as they report) his Conquests.

Payankalanke, R.

Before we come to the third river that falleth from the mountaines, there is another river (*some 30 myles navigable*) that commeth from the Inland: the river is called *Payankalanke*, the Inhabitants are about some 40 serviceable men.

Toppahanock, R.

The third navigable riuver is called *Toppahanock*. (*This is navigable some 130 myles.*) At the top of it inhabit the people called *Mannahoackes* amongst the mountaines, but they are aboue the place we describe.

The inhabitants

Vpon this river on the North side are seated a people called *Cuttatawomen*, with 30 fighting men. Higher on the riuver are the *Moraughtacunds*, with 80 able men. Beyond them *Toppahanock* with 100 men. Far aboue is another *Cuttatawomen* with 20 men. On the South, far within the river is *Nautaughtacund* hauning 150 men. This river also, as the two former, is replenished with fish and foule.

Patawomeck R.

The fourth river is called *Patawomeke* and is 6 or 7 miles in breadth. *It is navigable 140 miles, and fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hils.* These hils many of them are planted, and yeelde no lesse plenty and variety of fruit then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish.

The inhabitants

This river is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is *Wighcoconoco* and hath some 130 men: beyond them *Sekacawone* with 30. The *Onawmanient* with 100. Then *Patawomeke* with 160 able men.

Here doth the river divide it selfe into [7] 3 or 4 convenient rivers; The greatest of the least is called *Quiyough* [and] treadeth [*? trendeth*] north west, but the river it selfe turneth *North east* and is stil a navigable stremme. On the westerne side of this bought is *Tauxenent* with 40 men. On the north of this river is *Secowocomoco* with 40 men. Some what further *Potapaco* with 20. In the East part of the bought of the river is *Pamacacack* with 60 men. After, *Moyowances* with 100. And lastly, *Nacotchtanke* with 80 able men. The river 10 miles aboue this place maketh

his passage downe a low pleasant vally overshadowed [1607-9] in manie places with high rocky mountaines ; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs.

The fifth river is called *Pawtuxunt*, and is of a lesse ^{Pawtuxunt}_{R.} proportion then the rest ; but the channell is 16 or 18 fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinit[e] skuls of ^[p 349] divers kinds of fish more then elsewhere.

Vpon this river dwell the people called *Acquintanacksuak*, *Pawtuxunt* and *Mattapanient*. 200 men was the greatest strength that could bee there perceived. But they inhabit togither, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of al other were found the most civill to giue intertwainement.

Thirty leagues Northward is a river not inhabited, yet ^{Bolus, R.} navigable ; for the red earth or clay resembling *bole Armoniack*, the English called it *Bolus*.

At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 miles in breadth, there fall into it 4 small rivers, 3 of them issuing from diverse bogges invironed with high mountaines. ^{The head of the Bay.}

There is one that commeth *du[e]* north, 3 or 4. daies iourn[e]y from the head of the Bay, and falleth from rocks and mountaines. Vpon this riuier inhabit a people called ^{Sasquesahanock.}

They are seated 2 daies higher then was passage for the discoverers Barge, which was hardly 2 toons, and had in it but 12 men to perform this discouery, wherein they lay aboue the space of 12 weekes vpon those great waters in those vnknowne Countries, hauing nothing but a little meale or oatmeale and water to feed them ; and scarce halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but that by the [8] Savages and by the plentie of fish they found in all places, they made themselues provision as opportunitie served ; yet had they not a marriner or any that had skill to trim their sayles, vse their oares, or any businesse belonging to the Barge, but 2 or 3. The rest being Gentlemen or as ignorant in such toyle and labour : yet necessitie in a short time, by their Captaines diligence and example, taught them to become so perfect, that what they did by such small meanes, I leauie to the censure of the Reader to iudge by this discourse and the annexed Map. ^[p 350]

But to proceed, 60 of those *Sasquesahanocks* came to the discouerers with skins, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets,

[1607-9] Beads, Swords, and Tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well proportioned men, are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours: yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, [and they were] with much adoe restrained from adoring the discoverers as Gods. Those are the most strange people of all those Countries, both in language and attyre; for their language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them, as it were a great voice in a vault, or caue, as an Eccho. Their attire is the skinnes of Beares and Woolues, some haue Cassacks made of Beares heades and skinnes that a mans necke goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the beare fastned to his shoulders behind, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, and at the end of the nose hung a Beares Pawe: the halfe sleevees comming to the elbowes were the neckes of Beares and the armes through the mouth, with pawes hanging at their noses. One had the head of a Woolfe hanging in a chaine for a Iewell; his Tobacco pipe 3 quarters of a yard long, prettily carued with a Bird, a Beare, a Deare, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out the braines of a man: with bowes, and arrowes, and clubs, su[i]table to their greatnessse and conditions.

[A. 384.]

These are scarce knowne to Powhatan. They can make neere 600 able and mighty men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from [9] the Massawomekes their mortall enimies. 5 of their chiefe Werowances came aboard the discoverers, and crossed the Bay in their Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe. The calfe of whose leg was 3 quarters of a yard about: and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man that euer we beheld. His haire, the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crown like a cocks combe. His arrowes were fие quarters [of a yard] long, headed with flints or splinters of stones, in forme like a heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These hee wore in a woolues skinne at his backe for his quiver, his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the other, as is described.

[A. 351.]

The description of a Sasquesahannough

On the East side the Bay is the river of *Tockwhogh*, and [1607-9] *Tockwhogh R.*
 vpon it a people that can make 100 men, seated some 7 miles within the river: where they haue a Fort very wel pallisadoed and mantelled with the barke of trees. Next to them is *Ozinies* with 60 men. More to the South of that East side of the Bay, the river of *Rapahanock*; neere vnto which is the river of *Kuskarawaock*, vpon which is seated a people with 200 men. After that is the river of *Tants Wighcocomoco*, and on it a people with 100 men.

The people of those rivers are of little stature, of another language from the rest, and very rude. But they on the river of *Accohanock* with 40 men, and they of *Accomack* [with] 80 men, doth equalize any of the Territories of *Powhatan* and speake his language; who over all those doth rule as king.

Southward they went to some parts of *Chawonock* and *Chawonoech.* the *Mangoags*, to search [for] them there left by Sir Walter Raleigh; for those parts to the Towne of *Chisapeack*, hath [p. 312] formerly been discovered by Maister Heriots and Sir Ralph Layne.

Amongst those people are thus many severall nations of sundry languages, that environ *Powhatans* Territories. The *Chawonokes*, the *Mangoags*, the *Monacans*, the *Mannahokes*, the *Masawomekes*, the *Powhatans*, the *Sasquesahanocks* [10], the *Atquanachukes*, the *Tockwoghes*, and the *Kuscarawaokes*. Al those not any one vnderstandeth another but by Interpreters. Their severall habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mappe, which will present to the eie, the way of the mountaines and current of the riuers, with their seuerall turnings, bays, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places and such like. In which Mappe obserue this, that as far as you see the little Crosses on riuers, mountaines, or other places, haue beene discovered; the rest was had by information of the *Savages*, and are set downe according to their instructions.

*Rapa-hanock R.**Kuskarawaock R.**Wighcocomoco R.**Accomack R.**The several languages.*

[p. 384]



[1607-9]

*Of such things which are naturall in Virginia
and how they vse them.*

[p 352.]

*Why these
is little
grasse.*

*Woods with
their fruits.*

Virginia doth afford many excellent vegetables and liuing Creatures, yet grasse there is little or none but what groweth in lowe Marishes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with trees, whose droppings continually turneth their grasse to weedes, by reason of the rancknesse of the ground; which would soone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that is most common is Oke and Walnut: many of their Okes are so tall and straight, that they will beare two foot and a halfe square of good timber for 20 yards long. Of this wood there is 2 or 3 seuerall kinds. The Acornes of one kind, whose barke is more white then the other, is somewhat sweetish; which being boyled halfe a day in severall waters, at last afford a sweete oyle, which they keep in goaids to annoint their heads and ioints. The fruit they eate, made in bread or otherwise.

Elme.

There is also some Elme, some black walnut tree, and some Ash: of Ash and Elme they make sope Ashes. If the trees be very great, the ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps: but if they be small, it will be but powder, and not so good as the other.

*Walnuts
Supposed
Cypres*

Of walnuts there is 2 or 3 kindes: there is a kinde of wood we called Cypres, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most resemble it; and of those trees there are [11] some neere 3 fadome about at the root, very straight, and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a braunch.

Mulberries

By the dwelling of the *Savages* are some great Mulbery trees; and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in prettie groues. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the wormes prospered excellent well, till the master workeman fell sicke: during which time, they were eaten with rats.

Chestnuts.

In some parts, were found some Chestnuts whose wild fruit equalize the best in *France, Spaine, Germany, or Italy*, to their tast[e]s that had tasted them all.

Plumbs there are of 3 sorts. The red and white are

like our hedge plumbs: but the other, which they call [1607-9] *Putchamins*, grow as high as a *Palmeta*. The fruit is like [p. 353] a medler; it is first greene, then yellow, and red when it is ripe: if it be not ripe it will drawe a mans mouth awrie with much torment; but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricock.

They haue Cherries, and those are much like a Damsen; *Cherries* but for their tastes and colour, we called them Cherries. We see some few Crabs, but very small and bitter.

Of vines, [there is] great abundance in many parts, that *Vines* climbe the topes of the highest trees in some places, but these beare but fewe grapes. But by the riuers and Savage[s] habitations where they are not overshadowed from the sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruined nor manured. Of those hedge grapes, wee made neere 20 gallons of wine, which was neare as good as your French Brittish wine, but certainly they would proue good were they well manured.

There is another sort of grape neere as great as a Cherry, this they call *Messaminnes*; they bee fatte, and the iuyce thicke: neither doth the tast so well please when they are made in wine.

They haue a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a very small acorne. This they call *Chechinquamens*, which they esteeme a great daintie. They haue a berry much like our gooseberry, in greatnessse, colour, and tast; those they call [12] *Rawcomenes*, and doe eat them raw or boyled.

Of these naturall fruits they liue a great part of the yeare, which they vse in this manner. *The walnuts, Chesnuts, Acornes, and Chechinquamens* are dried to keepe. When they need them, they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the walnut shels will cleave to the fruit. Then doe they dry them againe vpon a mat ouer a hurdle. After, they put it into a morter of wood, and beat it very small: that done, they mix it with water, that the shels may sinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke; which they cal *Pawcohiscora*, and keepe it for their vse.

The fruit like medlers, they call *Putchamins*, they cast vpon hurdles on a mat, and preserue them as *Pruines*.

Chechinquamens

Rawcomenes

*How they
use their
fruits*

*Walnut
milke.*

[1607-9] Of their Chesnuts and Chechinguanens boyled 4 houres,
[A. 354] they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, or
at their greatest feasts.

Gummes.

Besides those fruit trees, there is a white populer, and another tree like vnto it, that yeeldeth a very cleere and an odoriferous Gumme like Turpentine, which some called Balsom. There are also Cedars and Saxafras trees. They also yeeld gummes in a small proportion of themselves. Wee tryed conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more then our arts.

Berries.

In the wat[e]ry valleyes groweth a berry, which they call Ocoughtanannis, very much like vnto Capers. These they dry in sommer. When they will eat them, they boile them neare halfe a day; for otherwise they differ not much from poysone. Matoume groweth as our bents do in meddows. The seede is not much vnlike to rie, though much smaller. This they vse for a dainty bread buttered with deare suet.

Strawberries.

During Somer there are either strawberries which ripen in April; or mulberries which ripen in May and Iune. Raspises hurres; or a fruit that the Inhabitants call Maracockes, which is a pleasant wholsome fruit much like a lemond.

Hearbs.

Many hearbes in the spring time there are commonly dispersed throughout the woods, good for brothes and sallats, as Violets, Purslin, Sorrell, &c. Besides many we vsed whose [13] names we know not.

Rootes.

The chiefe roote they haue for foode is called Tockawhougue. It groweth like a flagge in low muddy freshes. In one day a Savage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the greatnes and taste of Potatoes. They vse to couer a great many of them with oke leaues and ferne, and then couer all with earth in the manner of a colepit; over it, on each side, they continue a great fire 24 houres before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better then poison, and being roasted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dried in the sun, mixed with sorrell and meale or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreamely, and yet in sommer they vse this ordinarily for bread.

They haue an other roote which they call wighsacan: as [1607-9]
th[e]other feedeth the body, so this cureth their hurts
and diseases. It is a small root which they bruise and
apply to the wound. Pocones is a small roote that groweth
in the mountaines, which being dried and beate in powder
turneth red: and this they vse for swellings, aches,
annointing their ioints, painting their heads and garments.
They account it very pretious and of much worth.
Musquaspenne is a roote of the bignesse of a finger, and as
red as bloud. In drying, it will wither almost to nothing.
This they vse to paint their Mattes, Targets, and such like.

Wighsacan
a Root.
[p 355]

Pocones a
small
Roote

Musquas-
penne, a
Root.

There is also *Pellitory of Spaine, Sasafrage, and diuers*
other simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and com-
mended to be good and medicinable.

Pellitory.
Sasafrage.

In the low Marishes, growe plots of *Onyons* containing
 an acre of ground or more in many places; but they are
 small, not past the bignesse of the Toppe of ones Thumbe.

Onyons.

Of beastes the chiefe are Deare, nothing differing from ours. Their chiefe
 In the deserts towards the heads of the riuers, ther[e] are
 many, but amongst the riuers few.

beastes are
Deare

There is a beast they call Aroughcun, much like a badger,
 but vseth to liue on trees as Squirrels doe. *Their Squirrels*
 some as neare as greate as [14] our smallest sort of wilde
 rabbits; some blackish or blacke and white, but the most
 are gray.

Aroughcun.
Squirrels.

A small beast they haue, they call Assapanick, but we Assapanick
 call them flying squirrels, because spreading their legs,
 and so stretching the largenesse of their skins that
 they haue bin seene to fly 30 or 40 yards. *An Opassom* Opassom.
hath an head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat, and is of
 the bignes of a Cat. Vnder her belly shee hath a bagge,
 wherein shee lodgeth, carrieth, and sucketh her young.
Mussascus is a beast of the forme and nature of our water Mussascus.
Rats, but many of them smell exceeding strong of muske.
 Their Hares [are] no bigger then our Conies, and few of
 them to be found.

a Squirrel
flying

Opassom.

Mussascus.

Their Beares are very little in comparison of those of
Muscovia and Tartaria. The Beaver is as bigge as an Beares.
 ordinary water dogge, but his legges exceeding short.
 His fore feete like a dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans.

The
Beaver.

[1607-9] His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket bare without haire; which to eate, the Savages esteeme a great delicate. *They haue many Otters*, which, as the Beavers, they take with snares, and esteeme the skinnes great ornaments; and of all those beasts they vse to feede, when they catch them.

Vetchunquyes.
Foxes.

Dogges.

Martins.
Polecats.
Weesels, and
Minkes.

There is also a beast they call Vetchunquoyes in the forme of a wilde Cat. *Their Foxes* are like our siluer haired Conies, of a small proportion, and not smelling like those in England. *Their Dogges* of that country are like their Wolues, and cannot barke but howle; and their wolues [are] not much bigger then our English Foxes. *Martins, Powlecats, weessels and Minkes* we know they haue, because we haue seen many of their skinnes, though very seldomie any of them aliue.

But one thing is strange, that we could never perceiue their vermine destroy our hennies, egges, nor chickens, nor do any hurt: nor their flyes nor serpents [to be] anie waie pernitious; where [as] in the South parts of America, they are alwaies dangerous and often deadly.

Birds.

Of birds, the Eagle is the greatest devourer. Hawkes there be of diuerse sorts as our Falconers called them, *Sparowhawks* [15], *Lanarets, Goshawkes, Falcons and Osperayes*; but they all pray most vpon fish. *Patrridges* there are little bigger then our Quailes, wilde Turkies are as bigge as our tame. There are woosels or blackbirds with red shoulders, thushes, and diuerse sorts of small birds, some red, some blew, scarce so bigge as a wrenne, but few in Sommer. In winter there are great plenty of Swans, Craynes gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geese, Brants, Ducke, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeies, Parrats, and Pigeons. Of all those sorts great abundance, and some other strange kinds, to vs unknowne by name. But in sommer not any, or a very few to be seene.

Fish.

Of fish we were best acquainted with *Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, Stingraies* whose tailes are very dangerous. Brettes, mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreyes, Catfish, Shades, Pearch of 3 sorts, Crabs, Shrimps, Creuisises,

Oysters, Cocles, and Muscles. But the most strange fish [1607-9] is a smal one so like the picture of S. George his Diagon, as possible can be, except his legs and wings: and the [A. 357] To[^a]defish which will swell till it be like to brust, when it commeth into the aire.

Concerning the entrailes of the earth little can be saide *The Rocks* for certainty. There wanted good Refiners: for these that tooke vpon them to haue skill this way, tooke vp the washings from the mountaines and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought down; flattering themselves in their own vaine conceits to haue bin supposed that they were not, by the meanes of that ore, if it proued as their arts and iudgements expected. Only this is certaine, that many regions lying in the same latitude, afford mines very rich of diuerse natures. The crust also of these rockes would easily perswade a man to beleue there are other mines then yron and steele, if there were but meanes and men of experience that knew the mine from *spare*. [16]



Of their Planted fruits in Virginia and how they use them.

JHey diuide the yeare into 5. seasons. Their winter some call *Popanow*, the spring *Cattapeuk*, *How they divide the year.* the sommer *Cohattayough*, the earing of their Corne *Nepinough*, the haruest and fall of leafe *Taquitock*. From September vntill the midst of Nouember are the chiefe Feasts and sacrifice. Then haue they plenty of fruits as well planted as naturall, as corne greene and ripe, fish, fowle, and wilde beastes exceeding fat.

The greatest labour they take, is in planting their corne, for the country naturally is ouergrownne with wood. To prepare the ground they bruise the barke of the trees neare the root, then do they scorch the roots with fire that they grow no more. *How they prepare the ground*

[1607-9] The next yeare with a crooked peece of wood, they beat vp the woodes by the rootes; and in that [those] moulds, they plant their corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put 4 graines of wheat and 2 of beanes. These holes they make 4 foote one from another. Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne midle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard.

[16 358]

*How they
plant*

In Aprill they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of Iune. What they plant in Aprill they reap in August, for May in September, for Iune in October. Every stalke of their corne commonly beareth two eares, some 3, seldom any 4, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines. The stalke being green hath a sweet iuice in it, somewhat like a suger Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their corne greene, they sucke the stalkes: for as wee gather greene pease, so doe they their corne being greene, which excelleth their old.

They plant also pease they cal *Assentamens*, which are the same they cal in Italye, *Fagioli*. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes call *Garnanses*, but these they much esteeme for dainties. [17]

*How they
use their
corne.*

Their corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruising it in a morter with a Polt, lappe it in rowles in the leaues of their corne, and so boyle it for a daintie. They also reserue that corne late planted that will not ripe[n], by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they esteeme it being boyled with beans for a rare dish, they call *Pausarowmena*. Their old wheat they first steep a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a morter. They vse a small basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receaue the flower in a platter made of wood scraped to that forme with burning and shels. Tempering this flower with water, they make it either in cakes, couering them with ashes till they bee baked, and then washing them in faire water, they drie presently with their owne heat: or else

boyle them in water eating the broth with the bread which [1607-9] they call *Ponap*.

The grouts and peeces of the cornes remaining, by fanning in a Platter or in the wind away the brannte, they boile 3 or 4 houres with water; which is an ordinary food they call *Vstatahamen*. But some more thrifty then cleanly, doe burne the core of the eare to powder which [^{L p 359}] they call *Pungnough*, mingling that in their meale; but it never tasted well in bread, nor broth.

Their fish and flesh they boyle either very tenderly, or broyle it so long on hurdles over the fire; or else, after the *Spanish* fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, til it be as drie as their ierkin beefe in the west *Indies*, that they may keepe it a month or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eat as commonly as the meat.

In May also amongst their corne, they plant Pumpeons, and a fruit like vnto a muske millen, but lesse and worse; which they call *Macocks*. These increase exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of Iuly, and continue vntil September. They plant also *Maracocks* a wild fruit like a lemmone, which also increase infinitely: they begin to ripe[n] in September [18] and continue till the end of October.

When all their fruits be gathered, little els they plant, and this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long suffice them: for neere 3 parts of the yeare, they only obserue times and seasons, and liue of what the Country naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c.

*How they
use their
fish and
flesh.*

*Planted
fruits.*



The commodities in Virginia or that may be had by industrie.

The mildnesse of the aire, the fertilitie of the soile, and the situation of the rivers are so propitious to the nature and vse of man as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance. Vnder that latitude or climat, here will liue

[1607-9] any beasts, as horses, goats, sheep, asses, hens, &c. as
*A profe
cattell will
wee well.*
 appeared by them that were carried thither. The waters, Isles, and shoales, are full of safe haibouis for ships of warre or marchandize, for boats of all sortes, for transportation or fishing, &c.

The Bay and riuers haue much marchandable fish and places fit for Salt coats, building of ships, making of iron, &c.

[p. 360]
*The com-
modities.*

Muscovia and *Polonia* doe yearely receaue many thousands, for pitch, tarre, sope ashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, masts, yards, wainscot, Firres, glasse, and such like; also *Swethland* for iron and copper. *France* in like manner, for Wine, Canvas, and Salt; *Spaine* asmuch for Iron, Steele, Figges, Reasons, and Sackes. *Italy* with Silkes and Velvets, consumes our chiefe commodities. *Hol[l]and* maintaines it selfe by fishing and trading at our owne doores. All these temporize with other for necessities, but all as vncertaine as peace or warres: besides the charge, travell, and danger in transporting them, by seas, lands, stormes, and Pyrats. Then how much hath *Virginia* the prerogatiue of all those florishing kingdomes for the benefit of our land, whenas within one hundred miles all those are to bee had, either ready provided by nature, or else to bee prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Only of Copper wee may doubt is wanting, but there is good probabilitie that [19] both copper and better munerals are there to be had for their labor. Other Countries haue it. So then here is a place a nurse for souldiers, a practise for marriners, a trade for marchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a businesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore infidels to the true knowledge of God and his holy Gospell.



Of the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia.

He land is not populous, for the men be fewe; [¶ 607-9] their far greater number is of women and children. Within 60 miles of *Iames Towne* there are about some 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres scarce 1500. To nourish so many together they haue yet no means, because they make so smal a benefit of their land, be it never so fertill.

6 or 700 haue beeene the most [that] hath beeene seene together, when they gathered themselues to haue surprised Captaine Smyth at *Pamavneke*, hauing but 15 to withstand the worst of their furie [p. 457]. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beeene discouered, is in comparison of that yet vnknowne. The people differ very much in stature, especially in language, as before is expressed.

Some being very great as the *Sesquesahamocks*, others very little as the *Wighcocomoces*: but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white. Their haire is generally black; but few haue any beards. The men weare halfe their heads shaven, the other halfe long. For Barbers they vse their women, who with 2 shels will grate away the haire, of any fashion they please. The women are cut in many fashions agreeable to their yeares, but ever some part remaineth long.

They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods vnder a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in *Ambuscado* in the Sommer.

They are inconstant in everie thing, but what feare constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, [20] timerous, quicke of apprehension and very ingenuous. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all *Savage*. Generally covetous of copper, beads, and such like trash. They are soone moved to anger, and so malitious, that they seldom forget an injury: they seldom steale one from another, least their coniurers should reueale it, and so they be pursued and punished. That they are thus feared is

*The numbers.**700 men were the most were seen together, when they thought to haue surprised Captaine Smith.**A description of the people.**The[ir] barbers**The[ir] constitution.**The[ir] disposition.*

[1607-9] certaine, but that any can reueale their offences by coniuration I am doubtfull. Their women are carefull not to bee suspected of dishonesty without the leave of their husbands.

*The[ir]
possessions*

Each houshold knoweth their owne lands and gardens, and most liue of their owne labours.

*Their
attire.*

For their apparell, they are some time couered with the skinnes of wilde beasts, which in winter are dressed with the haire, but in sommer without. The better sort vse large mantels of deare skins not much differing in fashion from the Irish mantels. Some imbrodered with white beads, some with copper, other painted after their manner. But the common sort haue scarce to cover their nakednesse but with grasse, the leaues of trees, or such like. We haue seen some vse mantels made of Turky feathers, so prettily wrought and wouen with threeds that nothing could bee discerned but the feathers, that was exceeding warme and very handsome. But the women are alwaies couered about their midles with a skin and [are] very shamefast to be seene bare.

[P 362]

*Their
ornaments*

They adorne themselues most with copper beads and paintings. Their women some haue their legs, hands, breasts and face cunningly imbrodered with diuerse workes, as beasts, serpentes, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots. In each eare commonly they haue 3 great holes, whereat they hange chaines, bracelets, or copper. Some of their men weare in those holes, a smal greene and yellow coloured snake, neare halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her selfe about his necke often times familiarly would kiss his lips. Others wear a dead Rat tied by the tail. Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird or some large feather, with a Rattell [21]. Those Rattels are somewhat like the chape of a Rapier but lesse, which they take from the taile of a snake. Many haue the whole skinne of a hawke or some strange fowle, stuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad peece of copper, and some the hand of their enemy dried. Their heads and shoulders are painted red with the roote *Pocone* braied to powder mixed with oyle; this they hold in somer to preserue them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings they vse,

but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to [1607-9] behould.

Their buildings and habitations are for the most part by ^{Their building,} the riuers or not farre distant from some fresh spring. Their houses are built like our Arbors of small young springs [*springs*] bowed and tyed, and so close covered with mats or the barkes of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde raine or weather, they are as warme as stooues, but very smoaky; yet at the toppe of the house there is a hole made for the smoake to goe into right over the fire.

Against the fire they lie on little hurdles of Reedes ^{Their lodgings} covered with a mat, borne from the ground a foote and more by a hurdle of wood. On these round about the house, they lie heads and points one by th[e] other against the fire: some covered with mats, some with skins, and some starke naked lie on the ground; from 6 to 20 in a house.

Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens; ^[p. 363] which are smal plots of ground, some 20 [acres ^{p. 363}], ^{Their gardens} some 40, some 100. some 200. some more, some lesse. Some times from 2 to 100 of these houses [are] togither, or but a little separated by groues of trees. Neare their habitations is [but] little small wood, or old trees on the ground, by reason of their burning of them for fire. So that a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any waie, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder.

Men women and children haue their severall names according to the seuerall humor of their Parents. Their women (they say) are easilie deliuered of childe, yet doe they [22] loue children verie dearly. To make them hardy, in the coldest mornings they wash them in the riuers, and by painting and ointments so tanne their skins, that after year or two, no weather will hurt them.

The men bestowe their times in fishing, hunting, wars, and such manlike exercises, scorning to be seene in any woman like exercise; which is the cause that the women be verie painefull and the men often idle. The women and children do the rest of the worke. They make mats, baskets, pots, morters; pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare al kind of burdens, and such like.

[1607-9] Their fire they kindle presently by chafing a dry pointed sticke in a hole of a little square peece of wood, that firing it selfe, will so fire mosse, leaues, or anie such like drie thing that will quickly burne.

*How they
strike fire.*
*Their order
of diet.*

In March and Aprill they liue much vpon their fishing, weares; and feed on fish, Turkies and squirrels. In May and Iune they plant their fieldes; and liue most of Acornes, walnuts, and fish. But to mend their diet, some disperse themselves in small companies, and liue vpon fish, beasts, crabs, oysters, land Torteyses, strawberries, mulberries, and such like. In Iune, Iulie, and August, they feed vpon the rootes of *Tocknough*, berries, fish, and greene wheat.

It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their diet; euen as the deare and wilde beastes, they seeme fat and leane, strong and weak. *Powhatan* their great king and some others that are provident, rost their fish and flesh vpon hurdles as before is expressed, and keepe it till scarce times.

Ip. 364.]
*How they
make their
bowes and
arrowes.*
*Their
knives*

For fishing and hunting and warres they vse much their bow and arrowes. They bring their bowes to the forme of ours by the scraping of a shell. Their arrowes are made, some of straight young sprigs, which they head with bone some 2 or 3 inches long. These they vse to shoot at squirrels on trees. An other sort of arrowes they vse, made of reeds. These are peeced with wood, headed with splinters [23] of christall or some sharpe stone, the spurres of a Turkey, or the bill of some bird. For his knife, he hath the splinter of a reed to cut his feathers in forme. With this knife also, he will ioint a Deare or any beast; shape his shooes, buskins, mantels, &c. To make the noch of his arrow hee hath the tooth of a Beuer set in a sticke, wherewith he grateth it by degrees. His arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracer, of any splint of a stone, or glasse in the forme of a hart; and these they glew to the end of their arrowes. With the sinewes of Deare, and the tops of Deares hornes boiled to a ielly, they make a glew that will not dissolve in cold water.

*Their
Targets and
Swords.*

For their wars also they vse Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a sworde of wood at their

backs, but oftentimes they vse for swords the horne of a [1607-9] Deare put through a peece of wood in forme of a Pickaxe. Some, a long stone sharpened at both ends vsed in the same manner. This they were wont to vse also for hatchets, but now by trucking they haue plenty of the same forme, of yron. And those are their chiefe instruments and armes.

Their fishing is much in Boats. These they make of one tree by bowing [*? burning*] and scratching away the coles with ston[e]s and shels till they haue made it in forme of a Trough. Some of them are an elne deepe, and 40 or 50 foot in length, and some will beare 40 men; but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30. according to their bignes. Insteed of oares, they vse paddles and sticks, with which they will row faster then our Barges.

Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women vse to spin the barks of trees, deare sinews, or a kind of grasse they call *Pemmenaw*; of these they make a thred very even and readily. This thred serveth for many vses, as about their housing, apparell; as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantity as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles.

Their hookes are either a bone grated, as they nock their arrows, in the forme of a crooked pinne or fishhook; or of the splinter [24] of a bone tied to the clift of a litle stick, and with the ende of the line, they tie on the bate.

They vse also long arrowes tyed in a line wherewith they shoote at fish in the rivers. But they of *Accawmack* vse staues like vnto Iavelins headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They haue also many artificiall weares in which they get abundance of fish.

In their hunting and fishing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteeme it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein. And by their continuall ranging, and travel, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deare, Beasts, Fish, Foule, Rootes, and Berries. At their huntings they leaue their habitations, and reduce themselues into companies, as the *Tartars* doe, and goe to the most desert places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling vp towards the

*Their boats.**How they spin**[p 365]**Their fishhookes.**How they hunt*

[1607-9] mountaines, by the heads of their riuers, where there is plentie of game. For betwixt the rivers, the grounds are so narrowe, that little commeth there which they devoure not. It is a marvel they can so directly passe these deserts, some 3 or 4 daies iourney without habitation. Their hunting houses are like vnto Arbours couered with mats. These their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they vse. When they come to the place of exercise, euery man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excelling in those qualitie, they get their wiues. Forty yards will they shoot leuell, or very neare the mark, and 120 is their best at Random. At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly 2 or 300 together. Hauing found the Deare, they enuiron them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselues. And some take their stands in the midst. The Deare being thus feared by the fires and their voices, they chace them so long within that circle, that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting. They vse also to drive them into some narrowe point of land, [25] when they find that aduantage; and so force them into the riuier, where with their boats they haue *Ambuscadoes* to kill them. When they haue shot a Deare by land, they follow him like blood hounds by the blood and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Pattridges, Turkies, or Egges, fat or leane, young or old, they devoure all they can catch in their power.

In one of these huntings, they found Captaine Smith in the discoverie of the head of the river of *Chickahamania*, where they slew his men, and tooke him prisoner in a Bogmire; where he saw those exercises, and gathered these observations.

*One Savage
hunting
alone.*

One Savage hunting alone, vseth the skinne of a Deare slit on the one side, and so put on his arme, through the neck, so that his hand comes to the head which is stuffed; and the hornes, head, eies, eares, and every part as artificially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shrowding his body in the skinne, by stalking he approacheth the Deare, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deare chance to find fault, or stande at gaze, hee turneth the head with his hand to his best advantage to

seeme like a Deare, also gazing and licking himselfe. So [1607-9] watching his best aduantage to approach, hauing shot him, hee chaseth him by his blood and straine till he get him.

When they intend any warres, the *Werowances* vsually haue the advice of their Priests and Coniurers, and their Allies and ancient friends; but chiefly the Priestes determine their resolution. Every *Werowance*, or some lustie fellow, they appoint Captaine over every nation. They seldome make warre for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They haue many enimies, namely all their westernly Countries beyond the mountaines, and the heads of the rivers. Vpon the head of the *Powhatans* are the *Monacans*, whose chiefe habitation is at *Russawmeake*; vnto whome the *Mouhemenchughes*, the *Massinmacacks*, the *Monahassanuggs*, and other nations, pay tribut[e]s.

Their consultations.

Vpon the head of the river of *Toppahanock* is a [26] people called *Mannahoacks*. To these are contributers the *Tauxsnitanias*, the *Shackaconias*, the *Outponcas*, the *Tego-neaes*, the *Whonkentyaes*, the *Stegarakes*, the *Hassinnungas*, and diuerse others; all confederats with the *Monacans*, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, living for most part of wild beasts and fruits.

[p. 367.]

Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river *Patawomeke*, the Savages report, inhabit their most mortall enimies, the *Massawomekes* vpon a great salt water, which by all likelyhood is either some part of *Cominada* [*i.e.*, *Canada*], some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South sea. These *Massawomekes* are a great nation and very populous. For the heads of all those riuers, especially the *Pattawomekes*, the *Pautuxentes*, the *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Tockwooughes*, are continually tormented by them: of whose crueltie, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with Captaine *Smith* and his company, to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose, they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subiection.

Massawomekes.

To which he concluded to effect. But the counsell [*Council*] then present, emulating his successe, would not thinke it fit to spare him 40 men to be hazarded in those vnknowne regions; hauing passed (as before was spoken of) but with 12, and so was lost that opportunitie.

Their offer of subiection.

[1607-9] Seaven boats full of these *Massawomeks* the discouerers encountered at the head of the *Bay*; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopies, Platters, Bowes and Arrowes, and euery thing shewed, they much exceeded them of our parts: and their dexteritie in their small boats made of the barkes of trees sowed with barke, and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are seated vpon some great water.

Against all these enimies the *Powhatans* are constained sometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or surprisals. Yet the *Werowances*, women and children, they put not to death; but keepe them Capturess. They haue a method in warre, and for our pleasures [27], they shewed it vs; and it was in this manner performed at *Mattapament*.

Their manner of battell. Having painted and disguised themselues in the fiercest manner they could devise, they divided themselues into two Companies, neare a 100 in a company. The one company called *Monacans*, the other *Powhatans*. Either army had their Captaine. These as enimies tooke their stands a musket shot one from another; ranked themselves 15 a breast, and each ranke from another 4 or 5 yards; not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles, so as the Reare could shoot as conueniently as the Front.

[A 368] Hauing thus pitched the fields; from either part went a Messenger with these conditions: that whosoever were vanquished, such as escape, vpon their submission in 2 daies after, should liue; but their wiues and children should be prize for the Conquerers.

The messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders. On each flanke a Sarieant, and in the Reare an officer for levitenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune, which they vse only in warres. Vpon the first flight of arrowes, they gaue such horrible shouts and screeches, as though so many infernall helhounds could not haue made them more terrible.

When they had spent their arrowes, they ioined together prettily, charging and retiring, every ranke secondeing other. As they got advantage, they catched their enimies by the haire of the head; and downe he came that was

taken. His enimie with his wooden sword seemed to [1607-9] beat out his braines, and still they crept to the Reare, to maintaine the skirmish.

The *Monacans* decreasing, the *Powhatans* charged them in the forme of a halfe moone: they vnwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their *Ambuscadoes*, on whome they led them very cunningly. The *Monacans* disperse themselues among the fresh men, wherevpon the *Powhatans* retired with al speed to their seconds; which the *Monacans* seeing, took that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each [28] returned to their owne quarter.

All their actions, voices and gestures, both in charging and retiring, were so strained to the hight of their quallitie and nature, that the strangenes thereof made it seem very delightfull.

For their musicke they vse a thicke cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres, they haue a great deepe platter of wood. They cover the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a walnut, which meeting on the backside neere the bottome, with a small rope they twitch them togither till it be so tought and stiffe, that they may beat vpon it as vpon a drumme. But their chiefe instruments are Rattels made of small gourds or Pumpion shels. Of these they haue Base, Tenor, Counter-tenor, Meane and Tribble. These mingled with their voices sometimes 20 or 30 togither, make such a terrible noise as would rather affright then delight any man.

*Their
Musickē*

[# 369]

If any great commander arriue at the habitation of a *Werowance*, they spread a mat as the Turkes do a carpet, for him to sit vpon. Vpon an other right opposite they sit themselues. Then doe all with a tunable voice of showting bid him welcome. After this, doe 2. or more of their chiefest men make an oration, testifying their loue. Which they do with such vehemency and so great passions, that they sweate till they drop; and are so out of breath they can scarce speake. So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry or starke mad. Such victuall as they haue, they spend freely; and at night where his lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresh painted red with *Pocones* and oile, to be his bedfellow.

*Their
entertain-
ment.*

[1607-9] Their manner of trading is for copper, beades, and such like ; for which they giue such commodities as they haue, as skins, fowle, fish, flesh, and their country corne. But their victuall is their chiefest riches.

*Their
plasche.* Every spring they make themselues sicke with drinking the iuice of a root they call *wighsacan*, and water ; whereof they powre so great a quantity, that it purgeth them in a very violent maner ; so that in 3 or 4 daies after, they scarce [29] recover their former health.

*Their
chirurgery.* Sometimes they are troubled with dropsies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases ; for cure wheroft they build a stoue in the form of a douehouse with mats, so close that a fewe coales therein covered with a pot, will make the pacient sweate extreamely. For swellings also they vse smal peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloues, which pricking on the griefe, they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this root *wighsacan* they ordinarily heal greene wounds : but to scarrifie a swelling or make incision, their best instruments are some splinted stone. Old vlcers or putrifid hurtes are seldome seene cured amongst them.

[p. 370]

*Their
charmes
to cure.*

They haue many professed Phisitions, who with their charmes and Rattels, with an infernall rowt of words and actions, will seeme to sucke their inwarde griefe from their navels or their grieved places ; but of our Chirurgians they were so conceipted, that they beleue any Plaister would heale any huit.



Of their Religion.

There is yet in *Virginia* no place discouered to bee so Savage in which the Savages haue not a religion, Deare, and Bow and Arrowes. All thinges that were able to do them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship ; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordinance, peeces, horses, &c.

But their chiefe God they worship is the Diuell. Him [1607-9] they call *Oke* and serue him more of feare than loue. *Their God.* They say they haue conference with him, and fashion themselues as neare to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples, they haue his image euill favouredly carued, and then painted and adorned with chaines, copper, and beades; and couered with a skin, in such manner as the deformity may well suit with such a God.

By him is commonly the sepulcher of their kings. *How they bury their kings* Their bodies are first bowelled, then dried vpon hurdles till they bee verie dry, and so about the most of their iointes and necke they hang bracelets or chaines of copper, pearle, and such like, [30] as they vse to weare: their inwards they stiffe with copper beads and couer with a skin, hatchets, and such trash. Then lappeth they them [p. 37x] very carefully in white skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding sheetes. And in the Tombe, which is an arch made of mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth their kings haue, they set at their feet in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests.

For their ordinary burials, they digge a deep hole in the earth with sharpe stakes; and the corp[s]es being lapp'd in skins and mats with their iewels, they lay them vpon sticks in the ground, and so couer them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with black cole and oile, doe sit 24 howers in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling as may expresse their great passions.

In every Territory of a *werowance* is a Temple and a Priest [or] 2 or 3 or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at *Vttamussack* at *Pamavnke*, neare vnto which is a house Temple or place of *Powhatans*. *Their Temples.*

Vpon the top of certaine redde sandy hils in the woods, there are 3 great houses filled with images of their kings and Divels and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare 60 foot in length, built arbor wise, after their building. This place they count so holy as that [none] but the Priestes and kings dare come into them: nor the *Savages* dare not go vp the river in boats by it, but that they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or

[1607-9] Pocones, into the river, for feare their Oke should be offended and revenged of them.

*Their
ornaments
for their
Priests*

In this place commonly is resident 7 Priests. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments: but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their iewels at.

The ornaments of the chiefe Priest was certain attires for his head made thus. They tooke a dozen or 16 or [31] more snake skins, and stuffed them with mosse; and of weesels and other vermine skins, a good many. All these they tie by their tailes, so as all their tailes meeet in the toppe of their head, like a great Tassell. Round about this Tassell is as it were a crown of feathers; the skins hang round about his head necke and shoulders, and in a manner cover his face.

The faces of all their Priests are painted as vgly as they can devise. In their hands, they had every one his Rattell, some base, some smaller [*i.e., lighter in sound*]. Their devotion was most in songs which the chiefe Priest beginneth and the rest followed him: sometimes he maketh invocations with broken sentences, by starts and strange passions, and at every pause, the rest give a short groane.

It could not bee perceiued that they keepe any day as more holy then other: but only in some great distresse, of want, feare of enemies, times of triumph and gathering togither their fruits, the whole country of men women and children come together to solemnities. The manner of their devotion is sometimes to make a great fire in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it, with rattles and shouts togither, 4 or 5 houres. Sometimes they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing; he all the while clapping his hands as if he would keepe time. And after their songs and dauncings ended, they goe to their Feasts.

They haue also diuers coniurations. One they made when Captaine Smith was their prisoner; (as they reported) to know if any more of his countrymen would ariue there, and what he there intended. The manner of it was thus.

First they made a faire fire in a house. About this fire set 7 Priests setting him by them; and about the fire,

[P 372]

*Their
times of
solemnities.*

they made a circle of meale. That done, the chiefe Priest [1607-9] attired as is expressed [above], began to shake his rattle; and the rest followed him in his song. At the end of the song, he laid downe 5 or 3 graines of wheat, and so continued counting his songs by the graines, till 3 times they incirculed the fire. Then they divide [32] the graines by certaine numbers with little stickes, laying downe at the ende of euery song a little sticke.

In this manner, they sat 8, 10, or 12 houres without cease, with such strange stretching of their armes, and violent passions and gestures as might well seeme strange to him they so coniured; who but euery houre expected his end. Not any meat they did eat till, late in the evening, they had finished this worke: and then they feasted him and themselues with much mirth. But 3 or 4 daies they continued this ceremony.

They haue also certaine Altarstones they call *Pawcorances*: but these stand from their Temples, some by their houses, other in the woodes and wildernesses. Vpon these, they offer blood, deare suet, and Tobacco. These they doe when they returne from the warres, from hunting, and vpon many other occasions.

They haue also another superstition that they vse in stormes, when the waters are rough in the riuers and sea coasts. Their Coniurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their boats, after many hellish outcries and invocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, *Pocones*, and such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whome they think to be very angry in those stormes.

Before their dinners and suppers, the better sort will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire; which is all the grace they are known to vse.

In some part of the Country, they haue yearly a sacrifice of children. Such a one was at *Quiyoughcohanock*, some 10 miles from *Iames Towne*, and thus performed.

Fifteene of the properest young boyes, betweene 10 and 15 yeares of age, they painted white. Hauing brought them forth, the people spent the forenoone in dancing and singing about them with rattles.

In the afternoone, they put those children to the roote of a tree. By them, all the men stood in a guard, every one

Their altars.

[A 373]

Sacrifices to the water.

Their solemn sacrifices of children.

[1607-9] hauing a Bastinado in his hand, made of reeds bound together. This [these] made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed 5 young men [33] to fetch these children. So every one of the fие went through the guard, to fetch a child, each after other by turnes: the guard fearelessly beating them with their Bastinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receauing all; defending the children with their naked bodies from the vnmercifull blowes they pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while, the women weepe and crie out very passionately; prouiding mats, skinnes, mosse, and drie wood, as things fitting their childrens funerals.

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After the children were thus passed the guard, the guard tore down the tree, branches and boughs, with such violence, that they rent the body, and made wreathes for their heads, or bedecked their haire with the leaues. What else was done with the children was not seene; but they were all cast on a heape in a valley, as dead: where they made a great feast for al the company.

The *Werowance* being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered that the children were not al dead, but [only] that the *Oke* or *Divell* did sucke the blood from their left breast [of those], who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead. But the rest were kept in the wildernes by the yong men till nine moneths were expired, during which time they must not conuerse with any: and of these, were made their Priests and Coniurers.

This sacrifice they held to bee so necessarie, that if they should omit it, their *Oke* or *Divel* and all their other *Quiyoughcosughes* (which are their other Gods) would let them haue no Deare, Turkies, Corne, nor fish: and yet besides, hee would make great slaughter amongst them.

Their resur-
rection.

They thinke that their *Werowances* and *Priestes*, which they also esteeme *Quiyoughcosughes*, when they are dead, doe goe beyound the mountaines towardes the setting of the sun, and euer remaine there in forme of their *Oke*, with their heads painted with oile and *Pocones*, finely trimmed with feathers; and shal haue beades, hatchets, copper, and tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing with all their Predecessors.

But the common people, they suppose [34] shall not [1607-9] liue after death.

To diuert them from this blind idolatrie, many vsed their best indeauours, chiefly with the *Werowances* of *Quiyoughcohanock*; whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition much exceeded any in those Countries: who though we could not as yet preuaile withall to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleue, that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrows; and many times did send to the President, at *James* towne, men with presents, intreating them to pray to his God for raine, for his Gods would not send him any.

And in this lamentable ignorance doe these poore soules sacrifice themselues to the Diuell, not knowing their Creator.



Of the manner of the Virginians governement.

[p 375]

Although the countrie people be very barbarous; yet haue they amongst them such governement, as that their Magistrat[e]s for good commanding, and their people for du[e] subiection and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill.

The forme of their Common wealth is a monarchicall gouernement. One as Emperour ruleth ouer many kings or governors. Their chiefe ruler is called *Powhatan*, and taketh his name of the principall place of dwelling called *Powhatan*. But his proper name is *Wahunsonacock*.

Some countries he hath, which haue beene his ancestors, and came vnto him by inheritance, as the countrie called *Powhatan*, *Arrohateck*, *Appamatuke*, *Pamavne*, *Youghtanu[n]d*, and *Mattapament*. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Map, they report haue beeene his seuerall conquests.

In all his ancient inheritances, hee hath houses built after their manner like arbours; some 30, some 40 yarde long; and at euery house, provision for his entertainement, according to the time. At *Werowcomoco*, he was seated vpon the North side of the riuier *Pamavne*, some 14 miles

[1607-9] from *Iames Towne*; where for the most part, hee was resident, but he tooke so little pleasure in our neare neighbourhood [35], that were able to visit him against his will in 6 or 7 houres, that he retired himself [*in Jan. 1609, see p. 146*] to a place in the deserts at the top of the riuer *Chickahamania* betweene *Youghtamund* and *Powhatan*. His habitation there is called *Orapacks*, where he ordinarily now resideth.

A descrip-
tion of
Powhatan.
[p. 376.]
His attend-
ance and
watch.

He is of parsonage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke; his head somewhat gray, his beard so thinne that it seemeth none at al. His age neare 60; of a very able and hardy body to endure any labour. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of 40 or 50 of the tallest men his Country doth afford. Every night vpon the 4 quarters of his house are 4 Sentinels, each standing from other a flight shoot: and at euery halfe houre, one from the Corps du guard doth hollowe; vnto whom every Sentinel doth answer round from his stand. If any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely.

His
treasurie.

A mile from *Orapakes* in a thicket of wood, hee hath a house, in which he keepeth his kind of Treasure, as skinnes, copper, pearle, and beades; which he storeth vp against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is his store of red paint for ointment, and bowes and arrowes. This house is 50 or 60 yards in length, frequented only by Priestes. At the 4 corners of this house stand 4 Images as Sentinels; one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the 3 like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man: all made euill favorly, according to their best workmanship.

His wives.

He hath as many women as he will: whereof when hee lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet; but when he sitteth, one sitteth on his right hand, and another on his left. As he is wearie of his women, hee bestoweth them on those that best deserue them at his hands.

When he dineth or suppeth, one of his women, before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wo[o]den platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them instead of a Towell, and the feathers when he hath wiped are dried againe.

His kingdome descendeth [36] not to his sonnes nor children : but first to his brethren, whereof he hath 3. namely *Opitchapan, Opechancanough, and Catawaugh*; and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest: and after them to the heires male and female of the eldest sister ; but never to the heires of the males.

[Neither] He nor any of his people vnderstand any letters wherby to write or read ; the only lawes whereby he ruleth is custome. Yet when he listeth, his will is a law and must bee obeyed : not only as a king, but as halfe a God they esteeme him.

His inferiour kings whom they cal *werowances* are tyed to rule by customes, and haue power of life and death as their command in that nature. But this word *Werowance* which we call and conster for a king, is a common worde whereby they call all commanders : for they haue but fewe words in their language, and but few occasions to vse anie officers more then one commander, which commonly they call *werowances*.

They all knowe their severall landes, and habitations, and limits to fish, fowle, or hunt in : but they hold all of their great *Werowances Powhatan*, vnto whome they pay tribute of skinnes, beades, copper, pearle, deare, turkies, wild beasts, and corne. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare and adoration all these people doe obay this *Powhatan*. For at his feet, they present whatsoeuer he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his browe, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare : and no maruell, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him.

For example, hee caused certaine malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then hauing of many fires gathered great store of burning coles, they rake these coles round in the forme of a cockpit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Sometimes he causeth the heads of them that offend him, to be laid vpon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubbes beates out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enimie or malefactor [37], he causeth him to be tied to a tree, and, with muscle shels or reeds, the executioner cutteth off[f]

[1607-9]
*His successors**His authority*
[p. 377]*The tenor
[tenure] of
their land**His
maners
of punish-
ment*

His successors
[1607-9]

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[1607-9] his ioints one after another, euer casting what they cut of[f] into the fire ; then doth he proceed with shels and reeds to case the skinne from his head and face ; then doe they rip his belly, and so burne him with the tree and all.

[pp. 98, 395] Thus themselues reported they executed *George Cassen*.

Their ordinary correction is to beate them with cudgels. Wee haue seene a man kneeling on his knees ; and at *Powhatans* command, two men haue beat him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senselesse in a s[w]ound, and yet

[p. 378] neuer cry nor complained.

In the yeare 1608, hee surprised the people of *Payankatank*, his neare neighbours and subiects. The occasion was to vs vnknowne, but the manner was thus. First he sent diverse of his men as to lodge amongst them that night, then the *Ambuscadoes* inuironed al their houses, and at the houre appointed, they all fell to the spoile : 24 men they slewe, the long haire of the one side of their heades with the skinne cased off with shels or reeds, they brought away. They surprised also the women and the children and the *Werowance*. All these they present[ed] to *Powhatan*. The *Werowance*, women and children became his prisoners, and doe him service.

The lockes of haire with their skinnes he hanged on a line vnto two trees. And thus he made ostentation as of a great triumph at *Werowocomoco* ; shewing them to the English men that then came vnto him, at his appointment : they expecting provision ; he, to betray them [? *Captain Smith's visit, 12 Jan. 1609, see p. 133*] [and] supposed to halfe conquer them, by this spectacle of his terrible crueltie.

And this is as much as my memory can call to mind worthie of note ; which I haue purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of *Virginia*. Yet some bad natures will not sticke to slander the Countrey, that will slovenly spit at all things, especially in company where they can find none to contradict them. Who though they were scarce euer 10 miles from *James Town*, or at the most but at the falles ; yet holding it a great disgrace that [38] amongst so much

action, their actions were nothing, exclaine of all things, [1607-9] though they never adventured to knowe any thing; nor euer did any thing but devoure the fruits of other mens labours. Being for most part of such tender educations and small experience in martiall accidents: because they found not English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and alehouses in every breathing place, neither such plenty of gold and siluer and dissolute liberty as they expected, [they] had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their means to returne for England. For the Country was to them a miserie, a ruine, a death, a hell; and their reports here, and their owne actions there according. [p. 379.]

Some other there were that had yearely stipends to pass to and againe for transportation: who to keepe the mystery of the businesse in themselues, though they had neither time nor meanes to knowe much of themselues; yet al mens actions or relations they so formally tuned to the temporizing times simplicitie, as they could make their ignorances seeme much more then al the true actors could by their experience. And those with their great words deluded the world with such strange promises as abused the businesse much worse then the rest. For the businesse being builded vpon the foundation of their fained experiance, the planters, the mony, tinne [*time*], and meanes haue still miscaried: yet they ever returning, and the Planters so farre absent, who could contradict their excuses? which, stil to maintain their vaineglory and estimation, from time to time they haue vsed such diligence as made them passe for truthe, though nothing more false. And that the adventurers might be thus abused, let no man wonder; for the wisest liuing is soonest abused by him that hath a faire tongue and a dissembling heart.

There were many in *Virginia* meeley projecting verbal [39] and idle contemplatours, and those so deuoted to pure idlenessse that though they had lived two or three yeares in *Virginia* lordly, necessitie it selfe could not compell them to passe the *Peninsula*, or *Pallisadoes* of *James Towne*; and those wittie spirits, what would they not affirme in

[1607-9] the behalfe of our transporters, to get victuall from their ships, or obtaine their good words in *England* to get their passes?

Thus from the clamors and the ignorance of false informers are sprung those disasters that spring in *Virginia*; and our ingenious verbalists were no lesse plague to vs in *Virginia*, then the Locusts to the Egyptians. For the labour of 30 of the best only, preserued in Christ.
[A. 380] tianitie, by their industrie, the idle livers of neare 200 of the rest: who liued neer 10 months of such naturall meanes, as the Country naturally of it selfe afforded.

Notwithstanding all this, and the worst furie of the Savages, the extremitie of sicknesse, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall; in all that time I lost but 7 or 8 men: yet subiected the Savages to our desired obedience, and receaued contribution from 35 of their kings, to protect and assist them against any that should assalt them; in which order they continued true and faithful, and as subjects to his Maiestie, so long after as I did gouern there, vntill I left the Country:

Since, how they haue revolted, the Countrie lost, and againe replanted; and [how] the businesses hath succeeded from time to time, I referre you to the relations of them returned from *Virginia*, that haue bin more diligent in such observations.

F I N I S .



THE
PROCEEDINGS OF
THE ENGLISH COLONIE IN

Virginia since their first beginning from
England in the yeare of our Lord 1606,
*till this present 1612, with all their
accidents that befell them in their
Journies and Discoveries.*

Also the Salvages discourses, orations and relations
of the Bordering neighbours, and how they be-
came subiect to the English.

*Vnfolding even the fundamentall causes from whence haue sprang so many
miseries to the undertakers, and scandals to the businesse · taken faith-
fully as they were written out of the writings of Thomas
Studley the first provant maister, Anas Todkill, Walter
Russell Doctor of Phisicke, Nathaniell Powell,
William Pettyplace, Richard Wyffin, Thomas
Abbey, Tho : Hope, Rich Pots ana
the labours of divers other dili-
gent observers, that were
residents in Virginia.*

*And perused and confirmed by diverse now resident in
England that were actors in this busines.*

By W. S.



AT OXFORD,
Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612.

[T. ABBAY states, on the opposite page, respecting this second Part,

Neither am I the author, for they are many, whose particular discourses are signed by their names. This solid treatise, first was compiled by Richard Pots, since passing the hands of many to perverse, chancing into my hands, (for that I know them honest men, and can partly well witness their relations true) I could do no lesse in charity to the world then reveale, nor in conscience, but approve.

This Part is therefore the Vindication or Manifesto of the thirty or forty Gentlemen and Soldiers, who, under SMITH, saved the Colony pp. 155, 472, 930 So far therefore, it is an *ex parte* statement: but we have taken the edge off that objection, by printing at pp. xxxiii-cxiv of the Introduction all the documents, written by the other side that perished, which we could readily find. It will be seen that these introductory pieces illuminate and illustrate, rather than contradict, what follows.

This second Part of the *Map of Virginia*, compiled, and perhaps added to, by RICHARD POTS, p. 169; tested and revised by the Rev. WILLIAM SIMMONDS, D.D., p. 174; and published by T. ABBAY; is a condensed summary of the sayings and writings of the following six Virginian Colonists:

G E N T L E M E N.

Original Planters, 1607.

NATHANIEL POWELL (killed in the Massacre, 22 March 1622, pp. 575, 583), pp. 93, 120

THOMAS STUDLEY, Cape Merchant or Colonial Storekeeper (who died 28 August 1607, p. lxxii), pp. 93, 99, 107.

First Supply, 1608.

WILLIAM PHETTIPLACE, pp. 107, 148, 169, 185.

Dr. WALTER RUSSELL, pp. 108, 115.

RICHARD WIFFIN, pp. 108, 148, 185.

S O L D I E R.

Original Planter, 1607.

ANAS TODKILL, pp. 94, 107, 115, 120, 148.

In the revision of this text in the *General History*, Lib. 3, in 1624; the testimonies of eight other Gentlemen were incorporated (not invented as some would think), for which see p. 384.

It is to be especially noted that, while he would endorse it all, Captain SMITH is not named as an author of *any portion* of this Second Part, either in the title in the previous page or in the text itself: therefore no allusion to the POCAHONTAS deliverance should be expected in it, and there is none.]

TO THE READER.

DONG hath the world longed, but to be truely satisfied what Virginia is, with the truth of those proceedings, from whence hath flowne so manie reports of worth, and yet few good effects of the charge, which hath caused suspition in many well willers that desire yet but to be truely satisfied therin. If any can resolve this doubt it is those that haue lived residents in the land: not sa[*i*]lers, or passengers, nor such mercinary contemplators, that only bedeck themselues with others plumes. This discourse is not from such, neither am I the author, for they are many, whose particular discourses are signed by their names. This solid treatise, first was compiled by Richard Pots, since passing the hands of many to peruse, chancing into my hands, (for that I know them honest men, and can partly well witnesse their relations true) I could do no lesse in charity to the world then reveale; nor in conscience, but approue. By the advise of many graue and understanding gentlemen, that haue pressed it to the presse, it was thought fit to publish it, rather in it[*s*] owne rude phrase then other waiers. For that nothing can so purge that famous action from the infamous scandal some ignorantly haue conceited, as the plaine simple and naked truth. For defect whereof the businesse is still suspected, the

[1612]

[1612] truth vnknowne, and the best deservers discouraged, and neglected, some by false reports, others by conjecture, and such power hath flattery to ingender of those, hatred and affection, that one is sufficient to beguile more then 500 can keepe from being deceived.

But this discourse is no Iudge of mens manners, nor catalogue of their former courses; only a reporter of their actions in Virginia, not to disgrace any, accuse any, excuse any, nor flatter any; for which cause there is no wrong done but this, shortnesse in complaining, and so sparing in commending as only the reader may perceiue the truth for his paines, and the action purged of foule slander; it can detract from none that intendeth there to aduenture their fortunes; and to speake truly of the first planters, that brake the yce and beate the path, howsoeuer many difficulties obscured their inde[a]vours, he were worse then the worst of Ingrates, that would not spare them [their] memory that haue buried themselues in those forrain regions. From whose first adventures may spring more good blessings then are yet conceived. So I rest thine, that will read, peruse, and understand me. If you finde false orthography or broken English, they are small faultes in souladiers, that not being able to write learnedly, onlie striue to speake truely, and be understood without an Interpreter.



THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH COLONY IN

Virginia, taken faithfully out of the writings of *Thomas Studly*, Cape-marchant, *Anas Todkill*, Doctor *Russell*, *Nathaniell Powell*, *William Phetiplace*, and *Richard Pot[s]*, with the laboures of other discreet observers, during their residences.

CHAPTER I.

IT might wel be thought, a countrie so [1606-7] faire (as *Virginia* is) and a people so tractable, would long ere this haue [*p. 385*] beeene quietly possessed, to the satisfaction of the adventurers, and the eternizing of the memorie of those that affected it. But because all the world doe see a defailement; this following Treatise shall giue satisfaction to all indifferent readers, how the businesse hath beeene carried, where no doubt they will easily vnderstand and answer to their question, howe it came to passe there was no better speed and successe in those proceedings.

Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*, the first mover of this plantation, hauing many yeares solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as Maister *Edward maria Wingfield*, Captaine *John Smith*, and diverse others, who depended a

*The first
mover of
the action.*

[1606-7] yeare vpon his projects, but nothing could be effected, till by their great charge and industrie it came to be apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, [2] Gentry, and Merchants, so that his Maiestie by his letters patent, gaue commission for establishing Councils, to direct here, and to governe and to execute there. To effect this, was spent another yeare ; and by that time, three ships were provided, one of 100 Tonns, another of 40. and a Pinnace of 20. The transportation of the company was committed to Captaine *Christopher Newport*, a Mariner well practised for the westerne parts of *America*. But their orders for gouernement were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governours knowne vntill they arived in *Virginia*.

*Orders for
gouvern-
ment.*

[pp. 93, 99,
203, 386, 389,
402, 407]

On the 19 of December, 1606. we set saile, but by unprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of England ; all which time, *Maister Hunt* our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recoverie. Yet although he were but 10 or 12 miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes), and notwithstanding the stormie weather, nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better then Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst vs) suggested against him ; all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leaue the busines ; but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they haue prevailed) had even then overthowne the businesse : so many discontents did then arise ; had he not, with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted examples) quenched those flames of envie, and dissention. [3]

Wee watred at the Canaries ; wee traded with the Salvages at *Dominica* ; three weekes we spent in refreshing our selu[e]s amongst these west-India Iles ; in *Gwardalupa* we found a bath so hot, as in it we boiled porck as well as over the fire. And at the little Ile called *Monica*, we tooke from the bushes with our hands, neare 2 hogheads full of birds in 3 or 4 houres. In *Mevis*, *Mona*, and the Virgin Iles, we spent some time, where with a lothsome beast like a Crocadil, called a *Gwayn* [*Iguana*], Tortoses, Pellicans, Parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted.

*Monica an
unfre-
quented Ile
full of birds*

Gone from thence in search of *Virginia*, the company [1607] was not a little discomfited, seeing the Marriners had [pp. 387.] three daies passed their reckoning, and found no land; so that Captaine *Ratcliffe* (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare vp the helme to returne for England, then make further search. But God, the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extream[e] storme to hul[l] all night, did drive them by his providence to their desired port, beyond all their expectations: for never any of them had seene that coast.

The first land they made, they called *Cape Henry*; where anchoring, *Maister Wingfield*, *Gosnoll*, and *Newport*, with 30 others, recreating themselves on shore, were assalted by 5 Salvages; who hurt 2 of the English very dangerously. Their first landing
[pp. 5, 387.]

That night [26 April 1607], was the box opened, and the orders read: in which *Bartholomew Gosnoll*, *Edward Wingfield*, *Christopher Newport*, *Iohn Smith*, *Iohn Rat[c]liffe*, *Iohn Martin*, and *George Kendall*, were named to bee the Councell, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councell should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Jurie, [4] but determined by the major part of the Councell in which the Precedent had 2 voices. Matters of govern-
ment

Vntill the 13 of May, they sought a place to plant in: [p. 61] then the Councell was sworne, *Maister Wingfield* was chosen Precedent, and an oration made, whie Captaine *Smith* was not admitted of the Councell as the rest

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contriue the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clapbord to relade the ships; some make gardens, some nets, &c. The Salvages often visited vs kindly. The Precedents overweening ialousie would admit no exercise at armes, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together in the forme of a halfe moone by the extraordinary paines and diligence of Captaine *Kendall*.

Newport, with *Smith*, and 20 others, were sent to discover the head of the river. By divers smal habitations they passed. In 6 daies they arrived [the writer of this passage was evidently not in this expedition; and is therefore probably T. Studley] at a towne called *Powhatan*, consisting [p. 61] The discovery
of the
Paines and
Powhatan.

[1607]

of some 12 houses pleasantly seated on a hill: before it, 3 fertil[e] Iles, about it many of their cornefields. The place is very pleasant, and strong by nature. Of this place, the Prince is called *Powhatan*, and his people *Powhatans*. To this place, the riuer is navigable; but higher within a mile, by reason of the Rockes and Iles, there is not passage for a smal boate: this they call the Falles. The people in al parts kindly intreated them, til being returned within 20 miles of *James* towne, they gave iust cause of iealousie. But had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise then those at the fort, there had then beene an end of that plantation. For at the fort, where they arived the next day, [5] they found 17 men hurt, and a boy slaine by the Salvages. And had it not chanced a crosse barre shot from

[p. 7] the ships strooke down a bough from a tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all been slaine; being securely all at worke, and their armes in drie fates.

[p. 8] Herevpon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the ordinance mounted, his men armed and exercised: for many were the assaults and Ambuscadoes of the Salvages; and our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Salvages by the nimblenesse of their heeles well escaped.

What toile wee had, with so smal a power to guard our workmen adaiers, watch al night, resist our enimies and effect our businesse, to relade the ships, cut downe trees, and prepare the ground to plant our corne, &c., I referre to the readers consideration.

Six weekes being spent in this manner, Captaine *Newport* (who was hired only for our transportation) was to return with the ships.

Now Captaine *Smith*, who all this time from their departure from the Canaries, was restrained [24 Mar. p. lvii] as a prisoner, vpon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envyng his repute); who fained he intended to vsurpe the governement, murder the Councell, and make himselfe king; that his confederat[e]s were dispearsed in all the three ships, and that divers of his confederat[e]s that revealed it, would affirme it: for this he was committed.

13 weekes he remained thus suspected; and by that time the ships should retурne, they pretended, out of their

*The Fort
assaulted
by the
Salvages*

commissers, to referre him to the Councell in England, to receaue a [6] check; rather then by particulating his designes, make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or vtterly overthrowe his reputation.

[1607]

But he much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the vttermost of their crueltie. Hee wisely prevented their pollicies, though he could not suppresse their envies: yet so wel he demeaned himselfe in this busines, as all the company did see his innocencie, and his adversaries malice; and those suborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation. Many vntruthes were alleaged against him; but being so apparently disproved begat a generall hatred in the h[e]arts of the company against such vniust commanders.

[p. 389]

Many were the mischieves that daily spong from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good doctrine and exhortation of our preacher Maister Hunt reconciled them, and caused Captaine Smith to be admitted of the Councell [20 June].

[pp. 90, 99,
103, 386, 407]

The next day all receaved the Communion: the day following the Salvages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine Newport returned for England with newes; leaving in *Virginia*, 100. the 15 [or rather 22] of Iune 1607.

Captaine
Newports
returne for
England.
[p. 8]

The names of them that were the first planters,
were these following.

<i>Maister Edward Maria Wingfield.</i>	Councell. [7]	<i>Robert Ford.</i>
<i>Captaine Bartholomew Gosnoll.</i>		<i>William Bruster.</i>
<i>Captaine John Smyth.</i>		<i>Dru[e] Pickhouse.</i>
<i>Captaine John Ratcliffe.</i>		<i>John Brookes.</i>
<i>Captaine John Martin.</i>		<i>Thomas Sands.</i>
<i>Captaine George Kendall.</i>		<i>John Robinson.</i>
<i>Maister Robert Hunt Preacher.</i>		<i>Vstis Clovill.</i>
<i>Maister George Percie.</i>		<i>Kellam Throgmorton.</i>
<i>Anthony Gosnoll.</i>		<i>Nathaniell Powell.</i>
<i>Captaine Gabriell Archer.</i>		<i>Robert Behethland.</i>

[p. 390]

Gent.

<i>Jeremy Alicock.</i>
<i>Thomas Studley.</i>
<i>Richard Crofts.</i>

[1607]

Nicholas Houlgrave.
Thomas Webbe :
John Waler.
William Tankard.
Francis Snarsbrough.
Edward Brookes.
Richard Dixon.
John Martin.
George Martin.
Anthony Gosnold.
Thomas Wotton, Sierg.
Thomas Gore.
Francis Midwinter.
William Laxon.
Edward Pising.
Thomas Enry.
Robert Small.
Anas Todkill.
John Capper.
James Read, Blacksmith.
Ionas Profit, Sailer.
Thomas Couper, Barber.

Carpenters. } Gent. [3]

John Herd, Bricklayer.
William Garret, Bricklayer.
Edward Bronto, Mason.
William Loue, Taylor.
Nicholas Skot, Drum[mer].
John Laydon.
William Casscn.
Georgc Cassen.
Thomas Cassen.
William Rods.
William White.
Ould Edward.
Henry Tawn.
George Golding.
John Dods.
William Johnson.
William Vnger.
William Wilkinson, Surgeon.
Samuell Collier.
Nathaniel Peacock.
James Brumfield.
Richard Mutton.

Labourers.

with diverse others, to the number of 105. [9]



[A. 392]

CHAPTER II.

What happened till the first supply.

BEING thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that, within tenne daies, scarce ten amongst vs coulde either goe, or well stand; such extreame weaknes and sicknes oppressed vs. And thereat none need mervaile, if they consider the cause and reason; which was this.

Whilst the ships staied, our allowance was somewhat

bettered by a daily proportion of bisket which the sailors would pilfer to sell, glue, or exchange with vs, for mon[e]y, saxefras, furres, or loue. But when they departed, there remained neither taverne, beere-house, nor place of rel[e]ife but the common kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony and drunkeness, we might haue bin canonized for Saints. But our President would never haue bin admitted, for ingrossing to his privat [*i.e., his own use*], Otemeale, sacke, oile, aquavitæ, beefe, eg[g]s, or what not, but the kettel; that indeede he allowed equally to be distributed: and that was halfe a pinte of wheat, and as much barley, boyled with water, for a man a day; and this having fryed some 26. weeks in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines, so that we might truely call it rather so much bran than corne. Our drinke was water; our lodgings, castles in the air [*i.e., in the trees*].

With this lodging and diet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting pallisadoes, so strained and bruised [10] vs, and our continuall labour in the extremity of the heate had so weakned vs, as were cause sufficient to haue made vs as miserable in our natvie country, or any other place in the world.

From May to September, those that escaped lived vpon Sturgeon and sea-Crabs.

50. in this time we buried.

The rest seeing the Presidents projects to escape these miseries in our Pinnas by flight (who all this time, had neither felt want nor sicknes), [this] so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him [10 Sept. 1607]; and established *Ratcliffe* in his place: *Gosnoll* being dead [22 Aug. 1607], ^{p. 81} [and] *Kendall* deposed[? Sept. 1607]. *Smith* newly recovered; ^[p. 392] *Martin* and *Rat[c]liffe* was, by his care, preserved and relieved.

But now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helps abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Salvages; when God, the patron of all good indeavours, in that desperate extreamity, so changed the harts of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits and provision, as no man wanted.

And now where some affirmed it was ill done of the Council to send forth men so badly prouided, this incontradictable reason will shew them plainly they are too ill

[1607]

*The sailors abuses.**A bad President.**Plentie unexpected.*

[1607]

advised to nourish such il conceipts. First, the fault of our going was our owne. What could bee thought fitting or necessary wee had : but what wee should finde, what we should want, where we shoulde be, we were all ignorant [of]. And supposing to make our passage in two monthes, with victuall to liue, and the advantage of the spring to worke: we weare at sea 5. monthes, where we both spent our victuall and lost the opportunity of the time and season to plant. [11]

Such actions haue ever since the worlds beginning beeene subiect to such accidents, and every thing of worth is found full of difficulties: but nothing [is] so difficult as to establish a common wealth so farre remote from men and meanes ; and where mens mindes are so vntoward as neither do well themselues, nor suffer others. But to proceed.

[p. 9.]

The new President, and *Martin*, being little beloved, of weake iudgement in dangers and lesse industry in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad [*i.e., out of doors*] to captaine *Smith*: who, by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch ; some to build houses, others to thatch them; himselfe alwaies bearing the greatest taske for his own share: so that, in short time, he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe.

*The building
of James
Towne.*

[p. 393.]

This done, seeing the Salvages superfluity beginne to decrease, [he] (with some of his workemen) shipped himselfe in the shallop, to search the country for trade. The want of the language, knowledge to mannage his boat without sailors, the want of a sufficient power [*forces*] (knowing the multitude of the Saluages), [of] apparell for his men, and [of] other necessaries; [these] were infinite impediments, yet no discouragement.

*The
beginning
of trade
abroad.*
[p. 9.]

[p. 10.]

Being but 6 or 7 in company, he went down the riuer to *Kecoughtan*; where at first they scorned him, as a starved man: yet he so dealt with them, that the next day they loaded his boat with corne. And in his returne, he discouered and kindly traded with the *Weraskoyks*.

In the meane time, those at the fort so glutted the Saluages with their commodities, as they became not regarded. [12]

Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late miserie) [1607]
not any regarded but from hand to mouth, the company
being well recovered, caused the Pinas to bee provided
with things fitting to get provision for the yeare following.
But in the interim, he made 3. or 4. iournies, and
discovered the people of *Chickahamine*. Yet what he
carefully provided, the rest careles[s]ly spent.

[p. 394]

*The
discoverie
of Chicka-
hamine.*

Wingfield and *Kendall* liuing in disgracie, (seeing al
things at randome in the absence of *Smith*, the companies
dislike of their Presidents weaknes, and their small loue
to *Martins* never-mending sicknes) strengthened themselues
with the sailors and other confederates, to regaine their
former credit and authority, or at least such meanes abord
the Pinas (being fitted to saile as *Smith* had appointed for
trade), to alter her course, and to go for England.

Smith vnexpectedly returning [? Nov. 1607], had the plot
discovered to him. Much trouble he had to prevent it, till
with store of fauken [*falcon balls*] and musket shot, he
forced them [*i.e.*, by *threats*] [to] stay or sinke in the riuier.
Which action cost the life of captaine *Kendall* [*who was
shot after trial, see p. 13*].

These brawles are so disgustfull, as some will say they
were better forgotten : yet all men of good iudgement will
conclude, it were better their basenes should be manifest
to the world, then the busines beare the scorne and shame
of their excused disorders.

The President and captaine *Archer* not long after
intended also to haue abandoned the country ; which
project also was curbed and suppressed by *Smith*.

[p. 101]
*Another
project to
abandon the
Country*

The Spanyard never more greedily desired gold then
he victuall : which he found so plentiful in the riuier of
Chickahamine, where hundreds of Salvages, in diuers places,
stood with baskets expecting his coming. [13]

And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so
covered with swans, geese, duckes, and cranes, that we
daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pumpions,
and putchamins; fish, fowle, and diverse sorts of wild beasts
as fat as we could eat them : so that none of our Tuftaffaty
humorists desired to goe for England.

But our comedies never endured long without a

[p. 395.]

[1607-8] Tragedie. Some idle exceptions being muttered against Captaine Smith, for not discovering the head of *Chickahamine* river; and taxed by the Councell, to bee too slow in so worthie an attempt: the next voyage, hee proceeded so farre that with much labour, by cutting of trees in sunder, he made his passage.

But when his Barge could passe no farther, he left her in a broad bay, out of danger of shot; commanding none should goe ashore till his returne. [He] himselfe, with 2 English and two Salvages, went vp higher in a Canowe.

[p. 14] But hee was not long absent, but his men went ashore; whose want of government gaue both occasion and opportunity to the Salvages, to surprise one *George Casson*; and much failed not to haue cut off the boat and all the rest.

[p. 15] *Smith* little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the rivers head, 20 myles in the desert, had his 2 men slaine, (as is supposed) sleeping by the Canowe, whilst himselfe by fowling sought them victuall. Who finding he was beset with 200 Salvages, 2 of them hee slew; stil defending himselfe with the aid of a Salvage his guid[e], whome hee bounde to his arme and vsed as his buckler: till at last slipping into a bogmire, they tooke him prisoner.

When this newes came to the fort, much was their sorrow for his losse, fewe expecting [14] what ensued.

A month those Barbarians kept him prisoner. Many strange triumphes and coniurations they made of him: yet hee so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not only diverted them from surprising the Fort; but procure his owne liberty, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that those Salvages admired [wondered at] him as a demi-God.

*The 3.
project to
abandon the
fort*
[p. 22.] So returning safe to the Fort [on 8 Jan. 1608], [he] once more staied the Pinnas her flight for England; which, til his returne, could not set saile, so extreame was the weather, and so great the frost.

[p. 40.] His relation of the plentie he had seene, especially at *Werowocomoco*, where inhabited *Powhatan* (that till that time was vnknowne [*i.e., personally*]), so revived againe their dead spirits as all mens feare was abandoned.

Powhatan having sent with this Captaine, divers of his

men loaded with provision; he had conditioned, and so appointed his trustie messengers to bring but 2 or 3 of our great ordenances: but the messengers being satisfied with the sight of one of them discharged, ran away amazed with feare, till meanes was vsed with guifts to assure them [of] our loues.

[1608]

Thus you may see what difficulties stil crossed any good indeavour, and the good successe of the businesse; and being thus oft brought to the very period of destruction, yet you see by what strange meanes God hath still delivered it.

As for the insufficiencie of them admitted in commision, that error could not be prevented by their electors; there being no other choice, and all were strangers each to others education, quallities, or disposition.

And if any deeme it a shame to our nation, to haue any mention made of these enormities [15], let them pervse the histories of the Spanish discoveries and plantations: where they may see how many mutinies, discords, and dissensions haue accompanied them and crossed their attempts; which being knowne to be particular mens offences, doth take away the generall scorne and contempt, [that] mallice and ignorance might else produce to the scandall and reproach of those whose actions and valiant resolution deserue a worthie respect.

*A true
proofe of
Gods loue
to the
action.*

Now whether it had beene better for Captaine Smith to haue concluded with any of their severall projects to haue abandoned the Countrie with some 10 or 12 of them [that] we cal the better sort; to haue left Maister Hunt our preacher, Maister Anthony Gosnoll (a most honest worthy and industrious gentleman) with some 30 or 40 others, his countrie men, to the furie of the Salvages, famin, and all manner of mischieves and inconveniences; or starved himselfe with them for company, for want of lodging; or but adventuring abroad to make them provision: or by his opposition, to preserue the action, and saue all their liues; I leaue to the censure of others to consider.

[pp. 90, 93,
103, 386, 389,
402, 407]

*Of two evils
the lesser
was chosen.*

Thomas Studley.



[p. 403]

CHAPTER III.

*The arrivall of the first supply with their
proceedings and returne. [16]*

[1608]



At this time, our cares were not so much to abandon the Countrie, but the Treasurer and Councell in England were as diligent and carefull to supplie vs. Two tall ships they sent vs, with neere 100 men, well furnished with all things [that] could be imagined necessarie, both for them and vs. The one commanded by

Captaine *Newport*. The other, by Captaine *Nelson*, an honest man and an expert marriner: but such was the leewardnesse of his ship, that (though he were within sight of *Cape Henry*) [he], by stormy contrarie windes, was forced so farre to sea as the West Indies was the next land [he made], for for the repaire of his Masts, and relieve of wood and water.

*The Phenix
from Cape
Henry,
forced to
the west
Indies*

[p. 23]

But Captaine *Newport* got in, and ar[r]ived at *Iames towne* [8 Jan. 1608], not long after the redemption of Captaine *Smith*; to whome the Salvages, every other day, brought such plentie of bread, fish, turkies, squirrels, deare, and other wild beasts: part they gaue him as presents from the king; the rest, hee as their market clarke, set the price how they should sell. So he had incharted those pore soules (being their prisoner) in demonstrating vnto them the roundnesse of the world, the course of the moone and starres, the cause of the day and night, the largenes of the seas, the qualties of our ships shot and powder, the devision of the world, with the diversity of the people, their complexions customes and conditions. All which hee tained to be vnder the command of Captaine *Newport*, whom he tearmed to them his father; of whose arrival [17] it chanced he so directly prophecied, as they esteemed him an oracle.

*How Capt.
Smith got
his liberty.*

By these fictions he not only saved his owne life, and obtained his liberty; but had them at that command, [that] he might command them what his listed. That God that created al these things, they knew he adored for his God; whom they would also tearme in their discourses, the God of captaine Smith.

[1608]

Their
opinion of
our God

The President and Councel so much envied his estimation amongst the Salvages (though wee all in generall equally participated with him of the good therof) that they wrought it into their vnderstandings, by their great bounty in giuing 4. times more for their commodities then he appointed, that their greatnesse and authority as much exceed[ed] his, as their bounty and liberality.

[§ 404.]

Now the arrivall of [t]his first supply so overjoyed vs, that we could not devise too much to please the mariners. We gaue them liberty to track [truck] or trade at their pleasures. But in a short time, it followed [that] that could not be had for a pound of copper, which before was sold for an ounce. Thus ambition and sufferance cut the throat of our trade, but confirmed their opinion of Newports greatnes; wherewith Smith had possessed Powhatan: especially by the great presents Newport often sent him, before he could prepare the Pinas to go and visit him. So that this Salvage also desired to see him.

[§. 23.]

A great bruit there was to set him forwarde [Feb. 1608]. When he went, he was accompanied with captaine Smith and Maister Scrivener (a very wise vnderstanding gentleman newly arrived, and admitted of the Councell), and 30. or 40. chosen men for that guarde.

Arriving at Werowocomo[co], Newports conceipt of this great Salvage bred [18] many doubts and suspitions of treacheries. Which Smith, to make appeare was needlesse, with 20. men well appointed, vndertooke to encounter (with that number) the worst that could happen. The[i]re names were

Smiths
revisiting
Powhatan.

[§. 24.]

Nathaniell Powell.

John Taverner.

Robert Beheathland.

William Dier.

William Phettiplace.

Thomas Coe.

Richard Wyffin.

Thomas Hope.

Anthony Gosnoll.

Anas Todkell.

with 10. others whose names I [evidently Todkill] haue [§ 405]
forgotten.

[T Studley.
A Todkill.
9 June 1608.]

[1608]

*Powhatans
first enter-
taiement
of our men.*

These being kindly receiued a shore; with 2. or 300. Salvages were conducted to their towne. Powhatan strained himselfe to the vttermost of his greatness, to entertain vs, with great shouts of Ioy, orations of protestations, and the most plenty of victuall hee could prouide to feast vs.

Sitting vpon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather imbroydred (after their rude manner) with pearle and white beades, his attire a faire Robe of skins as large as an Irish mantle, at his head and [at his] feet a handsome young woman: on each side [of] his house sate 20. of his concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white beads about their necks; before those, sate his chiefest men, in like order, in his arbor-like house.

[p. 25.]

With many pretty discourses to renue their olde acquaintaunce; the great kinge and our captaine spent the time till the ebbe left our Barge a [19] ground: then renuing their feasts and mirth, we quartred that night with Powhatan:

[p. 27.]

*The
exchange of
a Christian
for a
Salvage*

The next day Newport came a shore, and received as much content as those people could giue him. A boy named Thomas Savage was then giuen vnto Powhatan, who[m] Newport called his son: for whom Powhatan gaue him Namontacke his trusty servant, and one of a shrewd subtil capacity.

[p. 406.]

3. or 4. daies were spent in feasting, dancing, and trading; wherin Powhatan carried himselfe so proudly, yet discreetly (in his Salvage manner), as made vs all admire his natural gifts, considering his education.

[p. 47.]

As scorning to trade as his subiects did, he bespake Newport in this manner.

*Powhatans
speach.*

Captain Newport it is not agreeable with my greatness in this pedling manner to trade for trifles; and I esteeme you a great werowans. Therefore lay me down all your commodities togither, what I like I will take; and in recompence giue you that I thinke fitting their value.

Captaine Smith being our interpreter, regarding Newport as his father, knowing best the disposition of Powhatan, told vs his intent was but to cheat vs; yet captaine Newport thought to out-braue this Salvage in ostentation of greatness, and so to bewitch him with his bounty, as to haue

what he listed: but so it chanced, Powhatan having his desire, valued his corne at such a rate, as I [? A. Todkill] thinke it [were] better cheape in Spaine; for we had not 4. bushels for that we expected 20. hogsheads [for].

This bred some vnkindnes betweene our two captaines, Newport seeking to please the humor of the vnsatiable Salvage, Smith to cause the Salvage to please him: but smothering his distast[e] to avoide the [20] Salvages suspition, [he] glaunced in the eies of Powhatan many Trifles; who fixed his humour vpon a few blew beads. A long time he importunat[e]ly desired them, but Smith seemed so much the more to affect them: so that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blew beads, he brought over my king for 2 or 300 bushels of corne; yet parted good friends.

The like entertainement we found of Opechanchynough, king of Pamaunke; whom also he in like manner fitted (at the like rates) with blew beads: and so we returned to the fort [on 9 March 1608].

Where this New Supply being lodged with the rest, [had] accidentally fired the quarters, and so the Towne [about 14 Jan. 1608]; which being but thatched with reeds, the fire was so fierce as it burnt their pallizadoes (though 10. to 12 yardes distant), with their armes, bedding, apparell, and much private provision. Good Maister Hunt our preacher, lost all his library, and al that he had but the cloathes on his backe, yet [did] none ever see him repine at his losse. This hapned in the winter, in that extreame frost 1607[-8].

Now though we had victuall sufficient, I meane only of Oatmeale, meale, and corne: yet the ship staying there 14. weeks (when shee might as well haue been gone in 14. daies), spent the beefe, porke, oile, aquavitæ, fish, butter and cheese, beere, and such like, as was provided to be landed [for] vs.

When they departed, what their discretion could spare vs, to make a feast or two with bisket, pork, beefe, fish, and oile, to relish our mouths; of each somewhat they left vs: yet I [? A. Todkill] must confess those that had either mony, spare clothes, credit to giue bils of payment, gold rings, furres, or any such commodities, were ever welcome to this

Difference
of opinions

[A. 28]

[p. 31.]

James
towne
burnt

[p. 407.]

[pp. 90, 93,
103, 386, 389,
402, 407.]

A ship idly
loitering 14
weeks.

[T Studley.
A Todkill.
"June 1608.

[1608]

removing taverne. Such was [21] our patience to obay such vile commanders [i.e., *the President Ratcliffe and the majority of the Council*], and buy our owne provision at 15 times the valem; suffering them [to] feast, we bearing the charge; yet must [we] not repine, but fast; and then leakage, ship-rats and other casualties occasioned the losse. But the vessell and remnants (for totals), we were glad to receiue with all our hearts to make vp the account, highly commanding their providence for preserving that.

For all this plentie, our ordinarie was but meale and water; so that this great charge little relieved our wants: whereby, with the extreamity of the bitter cold aire, moie then halfe of vs died, and [or] tooke our deathes, in that piercing winter.

I cannot deny but both *Skrivener* and *Smith* did their best to amend what was amisse: but with the President went the major part [*the majority of the Council*], that their hornes were too short.

*The effect
of meere
urbalists.*
J p 408]

But the worst mischiefe was our gilded refiners, with their golden promises, made all men their slaves in hope of recompence. There was no talke, no hope, nor worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold. Such a bru[i]te of gold, as one mad fellow [*a wag*] desired to bee buried in the sandes, least they should by their art make gold of his bones. Little need there was and lesse reason, the ship should stay, their wages run on, our victuall consume 14 weekes, that the Marriners might say, they built such a golden Church, that we can say, the raine washed neare to nothing in 14 daies.

*A needles
charge*

Were it that Captaine *Smith* would not applaud all those golden inventions, because they admitted him not to the sight of their trials, nor golden consultations I knowe not: but I [? *Anas Todkill, see p. 107*] heard him question with Captaine *Martin* and tell him, except he would shew [22] him a more substanciall triall, hee was not inamored with their durtie skill. Breathing out these and many other passions, never any thing did more torment him, than to see all necessarie businesse neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much gilded durt.

Till then wee never accounted Captaine *Newport* a refiner. Who being fit to set saile for England, and wee not having any vse of Parliaments, plaies, petitions,

admirals, recorders, interpreters, chionologers, courts of plea, nor Iustices of peace, sent Maister Wingfield, and Captaine Archer with him, for England, to seeke some place of better imploiment.

[1608]
*A returne
to England*



CHAPTER IV.

The ar[r]ival of the Phœnix, her returne, and other accidents.

HE authoritie nowe consisting in refining Captaine Martin and the still sickly President : the sale of stores [and] commodities maintained their estates as inheritable revenews.

The spring approaching, and the ship departed, Maister Skruener and Captaine Smith divided betwixt them, the rebuilding our towne, the repairing our pallisadoes, the cutting downe trees, preparing our fields, planting ourcorne, and to rebuild our Church, and re-cover our store-house.

Al men thus busie at their severall labours, Maister Nelson arrived [on 20 April 1608] with his lost Phœnix, (lost I say, for that al men deemed him lost), landing safely his men.

So well hee had managed his ill hap, causing the Indian Iles to feed his company, [23] that his victuall ([added] to that was left vs before) was sufficient for halfe a yare. He had nothing but he freely imparted it ; which honest dealing (being a marriner) caused vs [to] admire him. Wee would not haue wished so much as he did for vs.

Nowe to relade this ship with some good tidings, the President (yet not notwithstanding [*it not standing*] with his dignitie to leaue the fort), gaue order to Captaine Smith and Maister Skruener, to discover and search the commodities of Monacans countie beyond the Falles. 60 able men was allotted their number, the which, within 6 daies exercise, Smith had so well trained to their armes and

*The
repairing
of James
towne.*
[p. 409]

[p. 33, 34]

[p. 34]

*60 ap-
pointed
to discover
Monacan.*

[T Studley.
A Todkill.
, June 1608.]

[1608]

orders, that they little feared with whome they should encounter. Yet so vnseasonable was the time, and so opposite was Captain Martin to every thing but only to fraught to [t]his ship also with his phantasticall gold, as Captaine Smith rather desired to relade her with Cedar, which was a present dispatch, than either with durt, or the reports of an vncertainte discoverie.

An ill example to sell swords to Salvages.
[p. 31.]

[p. 410.]

Powhatans tricherie

The governors weakness.

[pp. 35-39.]

Smiths attempt to supprese the Salvage insolencies.

Powhatans excuses.

Whilst their conclusion was resolving, this hapned.

Powhatan to expresse his loue to *Newport*, when he departed, presented him with 20 Turkies, conditionally to returne him 20 Swords : which immedately were sent him.

Now after his departure, hee presented Captaine *Smith* with the like luggage ; but not finding his humour obaied, in sending him weapons, he caused his people with 20. devises to obtain them. At last, by ambuscadoes at our very ports, they would take them per force, surprise vs at work or any way : which was so long permitted that they became so insolent, there was no rule. The command from England was so straight not [24] to offend them, as our authority bearers (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing then peace breakers.

This charitable humor prevailed, till well it chaunced they medled with captaine *Smith* : who, without farther deliberation, gaue them such an encounter, as some he so hunted vp and downe the Ile, some he so terrified with whipping beating and imprisonment ; as for revenge, they surprised two of his forraging disorderly souldiers, and having assembled their forces, boldly threatned at our ports to force *Smith* to redeliver 7 Salvages which for their villanies he detained prisoners. But to try their furies, in lesse then halfe an houre, he so hampered their insolencies, that they brought the 2. prisoners, desiring peace without any farther composition for their prisoners : who being threatned and examined their intents, and [the] plotters of their villanies, confessed they were directed only by *Powhatan*, to obtaine [for] him, our owne weapons, to cut our own throats ; with the manner how, where, and when, which wee plainly found most rue and apparant.

Yet he sent [May 1608] his messengers and his dearest

Daughter Pocahuntas to excuse him of the iniuries done by [1608]
his subiects; desiring their liberties, with the assuraunce [^{p 38}] of his loue.

After Smith had giuen the prisoners what correction hee thought fit; [he] vsed them well a day or two after, and [^{p 39}] then deliuerner them [to] Pocahuntas: for whose sake only, he fained to saue their liues and graunt them liberty.

The patient Councel, that nothing would moue to warre with the Salvages, would gladly haue wrangled with captaine Smith for his cruelty; yet none was slaine to [^{p 40}] any mans knowledge: but it brought them in such feare and [25] obedience, as his very name would sufficiently affright them.

The fraught of this ship being concluded to be Cedar; *A ship
freight with Cedar.* by the diligence of the Master, and captaine Smith, shee was quickly reladed: Maister Scrivener was neither Idle nor slow, to follow all things at the fort.

The ship falling to the Cedar Ile, captaine Martin having made shift to be sick neare a yeare; and [there being] now neither pepper, suger, cloues, mace, nor nugmets [*nutmegs*], ginger, nor sweet meates in the country: (to enjoy the credit of his supposed art) at his earnest request, [he] was most willingly admitted to returne for England.

Yet having beeene there but a yeare, and not past halfe a year since the ague left him; that he might say somewhat he had seene, hee went twice by water to Paspahegh [^{p. 11}], a place neere 7. miles from James towne: but lest the dew should distemper him, was ever forced to returne before night. Thus much I [*evidently Anas Todkill*] thought fit to expresse; he expresly commanding me to record his iournies: I being his man, and he sometimes my master

*The
adventures
of Captaine
Martin.*

Thomas Studly, Anas Todkill.

Their names that were landed in
this supply:

Matthew Scriviner, appointed to be of the Councell.

Michaell Phytyplace. } Gent. | *Ralfe Morton.* } Gent.
William Phytyplace. } Gent. | *William Cantrill.* }

[
I Studley.
A Todkill.
' June 1608.

<p>[1608]</p> <p style="font-size: small;">[p. 412.]</p>	<i>Richard Wyffin.</i> <i>Robert Barnes.</i> <i>George Hill. [26]</i> <i>George Pretty.</i> <i>John Taverner.</i> <i>Robert Cutler.</i> <i>Michaell Sickelmore.</i> <i>Thomas Coo.</i> <i>Peter Pory.</i> <i>Richard Killingbeck.</i> <i>William Causey.</i> <i>Doctor Russell.</i> <i>Richard Worley.</i> <i>Richard Prodger.</i> <i>William Bayley.</i> <i>Richard Molynex.</i> <i>Richard Pots.</i> <i>Iefry Abots.</i> <i>John Harper.</i> <i>Timothy Leds.</i> <i>Edward Gurgenay.</i> <i>George Forest.</i> <i>John Nickoles.</i> <i>William Gryvill.</i>	<i>Gent.</i>	<i>John Bouth.</i> <i>William Burket.</i> <i>Nicholas Ven.</i> <i>William Perce.</i> <i>Francis Perkins.</i> <i>Francis Perkins.</i> <i>William Bentley.</i> <i>Richard Gradon.</i> <i>Rowland Nelstrop.</i> <i>Richard Salvage.</i> <i>Thomas Salvage.</i> <i>Richard Miler.</i> <i>William May.</i> <i>Vere.</i> <i>Michaell.</i> <i>Bishop Wyles.</i>	<i>John Powell.</i> <i>Thomas Hope.</i> <i>William Beckwith.</i> <i>William Yonge.</i> <i>Lawrence Towntales.</i> <i>William Ward.</i>	<i>Labourers.</i>	<i>Tailers.</i>
	<i>Daniel Stalling, Iueller.</i> <i>William Dawson, Refiner.</i> <i>Abraham Ransacke, Refiner.</i> <i>William Johnson, Goldsmith.</i> <i>Peter Keffer, a Gunner.</i> <i>Robert Alberton, a Perfumer.</i> <i>Richard Belfield, Goldsmith.</i>	<i>[27]</i>	<i>Thomas Feld.</i> <i>John Harford.</i> <i>Post Gittnat, a C[hir]urgion.</i> <i>John Lewes, a Couper.</i> <i>Robert Cotten, a Tobaco-pipe-maker.</i> <i>Richard Dole, a blacke Smith</i> <i>and divers others, to the number of 120.</i>	<i>Apothecaries.</i>		
	<i>Ramon Goodyson.</i> <i>John Speareman.</i> <i>William Spence.</i> <i>Richard Brislow.</i> <i>William Simons.</i>	<i>Labourers.</i>				
		<i>Labourers.</i>				



CHAPTER V.

*The accidents that happened in the Discoverie
of the bay.*



He prodigality of the Presidents state went so deepe in the store, that *Smith* and *Scrivener* had a while tyed both *Martin* and him to the rules of proportion: but now *Smith* being to depart, the Presidents authorite so overswayed *Maister Scriveners* discretion, as our store, our time, our strength and labours, was idly consumed to fulfill his phantasies.

[1608]

The second of Iune 1608. *Smith* left the fort, to performe his discoverie; with this company.

Walter Russell Doctour of Physicke.

[p 413]

Ralph Morton.	Gent. [29]	Anas Todkill.	} Sould.
Thomas Momford.		Robert Small.	
William Cantrill.		James VVatkins.	
Richard Fetherstone.		John Powell.	
James Bourne.		James Read, blacke smith.	
Michael Sicklemore.		Richard Keale, fishmonger.	
		Ionas Profit, fisher.	

These being in an open barge of two tunnes burden.

Leaving the Phenix at Cape-Henry, we crossed the bay to the Easterne shore, and fell with the Iles called *Smiths Iles*.

The first people we saw were 2. grimme and stout Salvages vpon Cape-Charles, with long poles like Iavelings, headed with bone. They boldly demanded what we were, and what we would; but after many circumstances, they in time seemed very kinde, and directed vs to *Acawmacke*, the habitation of the *Werowans*, where we were kindly intreated.

Cape Charles.

Acaw-macke.

[1608]

This king was the com[e]liest proper civill Salvage wee incountred. His country is a pleasant fertill clay-soile. Hee tolde vs of a straunge accident lately happened [to] him, and it was. Two deade children, by the extreame passions of their parents, or some dreaming visions, phantasie, or affection [which] moued them againe to revisit their dead carkases : whose benummed bodies reflected to the eies of the beholders such pleasant delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vital spirits. This, as a miracle, drew many to behold them : all which, (being a great part of his people) not long after died, and not any one escaped.

A strange mortality of Savages.

They spake the language of *Powhatan* wherein they made such descriptions of the bay, Iles, and rivers that often did vs exceeding pleasure.

An extreame gust.

[p 414]

*Russells Iles**Wighcocomoco.**? extreme want of fresh water.*

Passing [30] along the coast, searching every inlet and bay fit for harbours and habitations: [and] seeing many Iles in the midst of the bay, we bore vp for them ; but ere wee could attaine them, such an extreame gust of wind, raine, thunder, and lightning happened, that with great daunger, we escaped the vnmercifull raging of that ocean-like water.

The next day, searching those inhabitible Iles (which we called Russells Isles) to provide fresh water: the defect whereof forced vs to follow the next Easterne channell, which brought vs to the river *Wighcocomoco*.

The people at first with great furie seemed to assault vs ; yet at last with songs, daunces, and much mirth. But searching their habitations for water, wee could fill but 3 [? barricoes], and that such puddle that never til then wee ever knew the want of good water. We digged and search many places but ere the end of two daies, wee would haue refused two barricoes of gold for one of that puddle water of *Wighcocomoco*.

Being past these Isles, falling with a high land vpon the maine, wee found a great pond of fresh water; but so exceeding hot, that we supposed it some bath. That place we called Point ployer.

Being thus refreshed, in crossing over from the maine to other Iles, the wind and waters so much increased with thunder lightning and raine, that our fore-mast blew over-bord ; and such mightie waues overwrought vs in that

The barge were sunk in a gust.

smal barge, that with great labour wee kept her from sinking, by freeing out the water. [1608]

2 daies we were inforced to inhabit these vnhabited Iles ; which (for the extremitie of gusts, thunder, raine, stormes, and il weather) we called *Limbo*.

Repairing our fore saile with [31] our shirts, we set saile for the maine ; and fel with a faire river on the East called *Kuskaranaoche*. By it inhabit the people of *Soraphanigh*, *Nause*, *Arsek*, and *Nautaquake*, that much extolled a great nation called *Massawomekes* : in search of whome, wee returned by *Limbo*.

But finding this easterne shore shallow broken Iles, and the maine for [the] most part without fresh water ; we passed by the straights of *Limbo*, for the weasterne shore. So broad is the bay here, that we could scarse perceiue the great high Clifffes on the other side.

By them, wee anc[h]ored that night, and called them Richards Clifffes. 30 leagues we sailed more Northwards, not finding any inhabitants ; yet the coast well watred, [p. 416.] the mountaines very barren, the vallies very fertil, but the woods extieame thicke, full of Woolues, Beares, Deare, and other wild beasts.

The first inlet we found, wee called *Bolus*, for that the *Bolus river.* clay (in many places) was like (if not) *Bole-Armoniacke*.

When we first set saile, some of our gallants doubted nothing, but that our Captaine would make too much hast home. But hauing lien not aboue 12 daies in this smal Barge, oft tired at their oares, their bread spoiled with wet, so much that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomacks that they could digest it), did with continuall complaints so importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeake them in this manner [on 13 June 1608].

Gentlemen, if you would remember the memoriable historie of Sir *Ralfe Lane*, how his company importuned him to proceed in the discoverie of *Morattico*, alleaging, they had yet a dog, that being boyled with *Saxafras* leaues, would richly feed them in their returns ; what shame would it be for you [32] (that haue beene so suspitious of my tendernessse) to force me [to] returne with a months prouision, scarce able to say where we

*The first
notice of the
Massawo-
mikes.*

*Smiks
speech to his
soldiers.*

[pp. 314, 416.]

[1608]

haue bin, nor yet heard of that wee were sent to seeke. You cannot say but I haue shared with you of the worst [that] is past; and for what is to come, of lodging, diet, or whatsoever, I am contented you allot the worst part to my selfe. As for your feares, that I will lose my selfe in these vnknowne large waters, or be swallowed vp in some stormie gust: abandon those childish feares, for worse then is past cannot happen, and there is as much danger to returne, as to proceed forward. Regaine therefore your old spirits: for returne I wil not, (if God assist me) til I haue seene the *Massawomekes*, found *Patawomeck*, or the head of this great water you conceit to be endlesse.

[p. 417]

3 or 4 daies we expected [*? experienced*] wind and weather, whose adverse extreamities added such discouragements to our discontents as 3 or 4 fel extreame sicke; whose pitiful complaints caused vs to returne, leauing the bay some 10 miles broad at 9 or 10 fadome water.

The 16 of Iune, we fel with the riuier of *Patawomeck*. Feare being gon[e], and our men recovered, wee were all contented to take some paines to knowe the name of this 9 mile broad river. We could see no inhabitants for 30 myles saile. Then we were conducted by 2 Salvages vp a little bayed creeke toward *Onawmament*: where all the woods were laid with Ambuscadoes to the number of 3 or 400 Salvages; but so strangely painted, grimed, and disguised, shewting, yelling, and crying, as we rather supposed them so many devils.

Ambus-
cadoes of
Salvages.

They made many bravadoes, but to appease [33] their furie, our Captaine prepared (with a seeming willingnesse, as they) to encounter them. The grazing of the bullets vpon the river, with the ecc[h]o of the woods so amazed them, as down went their bowes and arrowes; and exchanging hostage[s] *Iames Watkins* was sent 6. myles vp the woods, to their kings habitation. Wee were kindly vsed by these Salvages: of whom we vnderstood, they were commaunded to betray vs, by *Powhatans* direction; and hee so directed, from the discontents [*discontented*] of *Iames towne*.

A treache-
rous project.

The like encounters we found at *Patawomeck, Cecocawone,* and divers other places ; but at *Moyaones, Nacothtant,* and *Taux*, the people did their best to content vs.

[1608]

The cause of this discovery was to search a glistering mettal, the Salvages told vs they had froin *Patawomeck* (the which *Newport* assured that he had tryed to hold halfe siluer), also to search what furres, metals, riuers, Rockes, nations, woods, fishings, fruits, victuals, and other commodities the land afforded ; and whether the bay were endlesse, or how farre it extended.

The mine we found 9 or 10 myles vp in the country from the river; but it proved of no value. Some Otters, Beavers, Martins, Luswarts, and sables we found : and, in diverse places, that abundance of fish lying so thicke with their heads aboue the water, as for want of nets (our barge driving amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan ; but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with. Neither better fish, more plenty or variety, had any of vs ever seene in any place, swimming in the water, then in the bay of *Chesapeack* : but there not to be caught with frying-pans.

Antimony

To expresse al our [34] quarrels, treacheries and encounters amongst those Salvages, I should be too tedious : but in briefe, at al times we so incountred them and curbed their insolencies, as they concluded with presents to purchase peace ; yet wee lost not a man. At our first meeting, our captaine ever observed this order, to de-maunde their bowes and arrowes, swords, mantles, or furres ; with some childe for hostage : whereby he could quickly perceiue when they intended any villany.

An abundant plenty of fish.

[p. 419.]

*How to
deale
with the
Salvages.*

Having finished this discovery, (though our victuall was neare spent) he intended to haue seene his imprisonments acquaintance vpon the river of *Toppahannock* [pp. 18, 19, 119]. But our boate (by reason of the ebbe) chansing to ground vpon a many shoules lying in the entrance, we spied many fishes lurking amongst the weedes on the sands. Our captaine sporting himselfe to catch them by nailing them to the ground with his sword, set vs all a fishing in that manner. By this devise, we tooke more in an houre then we all could eat.

[1608] But it chanced, the captaine taking a fish from his sword (not knowing her condition), being much of the fashion of a Thornebacke with a longer taile whereon is a most poysoned sting of 2. or 3. inches long, which shee strooke an inch and [a] halfe into the wrist of his arme. The which, in 4. houres, had so extreamly swolne his hand, arme, shoulder, and part of his body, as we al with much sorrow concluded [*anticipated*] his funerall, and prepared his graue in an Ile hard by (as himselfe appointed); which then wee called Stingeray Ile, after the name of the fish. Yet by the helpe of a precious oile, Doctour Russel applyed, ere night his tormenting paine was so wel asswaged that he eate the fish to his supper: which [35] gaue no lesse ioy and content to vs, then ease to himselfe.

Having neither Surgeon nor surgerie but that preservatiue oile, we presently set saile for Iames Towne.

Passing the mouth of *Pyankatanck* and *Pamavnke* riuers, the next day we safely arrived at *Kecoughtan*.

[p. 420]
*The
Salvages
affrighted
with their
owne
suspcion*

The simple Salvages seeing our captaine hurt, and another bloudy (which came by breaking his shin), [and] our number of bowes, arrowes, sw. ds, targets, mantles and furs, would needs imagine we had bin at warres. The truth of these accidents would not satisfie them; but impatiently they importuned vs to know with whom wee fought. Finding their aptnes to beleue, we failed not (as a great secret) to tel them any thing that might affright them, what spoile wee had got and made of the *Masawomeekes*. This rumor went faster vp the river then our barge: That arrived at *Weraskoyack*, the 20 of Iulie; where trimming her, with painted streamers and such devises, we made the Fort iealous of a Spanish frigot; where we all safely arrived the 21. of July.

*A needlesse
miserie.*

There wee found the Last Supply al sicke; the rest, some lame, some bruised: al vnable to do any thing but complain of the pride and vnreasonable needlesse cruelty of their sillie President [*Ratcliffe*] that had riotously consumed the store; and to fulfill his follies, about building him an vnnescessarie pallas in the woodes, [which] had brought them all to that miserie, that had not we arrived, they had as strangely tormented him with revenge.

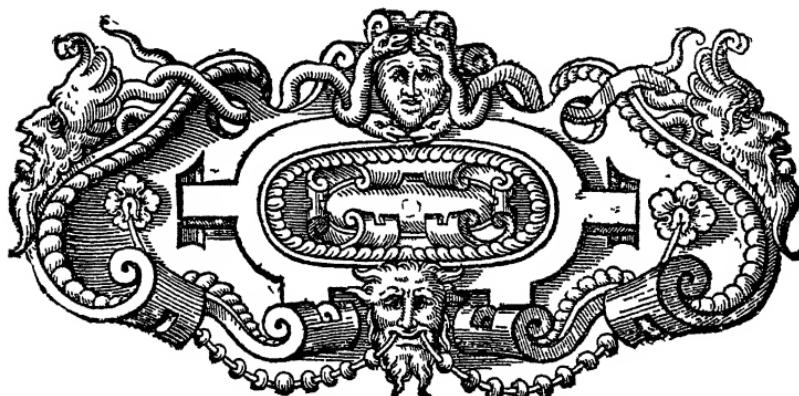
[1608]

But the good newes of our discovery, and the good hope we had (by the Salvages relation) our Bay had stretched to the South sea, appeased their fury; but conditionally that *Rat[c]liffe* should be deposed, and that captaine *Smith* would take [36] vpon him the governement.

Their request being effected [? 23 July], hee substituted *Maister Scrivener*, his deare friend, in the Presidencie; equally distributing those private provisions the other[s] had ingrossed; appointing more honest officers to assist *Scrivener* (who they lay extreamelie tormented with a callenture): and in regard of the weaknes of the company, and heat of the yeare, they being vnable to worke, he left them to liue at ease; but imbarked himselfe to finish his discovery.

*The
company
left to liue
at ease*

Written by Walter Russell and Anas Todkill.





CHAPTER VI.

What happened the second voyage to discouer the Bay.

[1608]

[p. 421.]



HE 20. [or rather 24, see p. 421] of July, Captaine Smith set forward to finish the discovery, with 12. men. Their names were

<i>Nathaniell Powell.</i> <i>Thomas Momford.</i> <i>Richard Fetherstone.</i> <i>Michaell Sicklemore.</i> <i>Iames Bourne.</i>	} Gent.
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<i>Anas Todkill.</i> <i>Edward Pysing.</i> <i>Richard Keale.</i> <i>Anthony Bagnall.</i>	} Sould.	<i>Iames Watkins, Sould.</i> <i>William Ward.</i> <i>Ionas Profit.</i>
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The winde beeing contrary, caused our stay 2 or 3 [37] daies at Kecoughtan ; the werowans feasting vs with much mirth. His people were perswaded we went purposely to be reuenged of the Massawomeckes. In the evening, we firing 2. or 3. rackets, so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing impossible wee attempted, and desired to assist vs.

The fist night, we anchored at Stingeray Ile; the next day, crossed *Patawomecks* riuier, and hasted for the riuier Bolus.

The Salvages admire fireworkes

The head of the Bay

Wee went not much farther, before wee might perceiue the Bay to devide in 2. heads; and arriving there, we founde it devided in 4; all which we searched so far as we could saile them.

2. of them wee found vninhabited, but in crossing the

bay to the other, wee incountered 7. or 8. Canowes-full of [1608] Massawomecks.

We seeing them prepare to assault vs, left our oares, and made way with our saile to incounter them; yet were we but fие (with our captaine) [that] could stand: [f]or within 2. daies after wee left *Kecoughtan*, the rest (being all of the Last Supply) were sickle almost to death (vnſtill they were seasoned to the country). Hauing shut them vnder our tarpawling, we put their hats vpon stickes by the barge side, to make vs seeme many. And so we thinke the Indians supposed those hats to be men: for they fled with all possible speed to the shoare, and there stayed, staring at the sailing of our barge, till we anchored right against them.

Long it was ere we could drawe them to come vnto vs. At last, they sent 2 of their company vnarmed in a Canowe: the rest all followed to second them, if need required. These 2 being but each presented with a bell, brought aborde all their fellowes; presenting the captain with venison, beares flesh, fish, bowes, arrows, [38] clubs, targets, and beare-skins.

Wee vnderstood them nothing at all but by signes, whereby they signified vnto vs they had been at warres with the *Tockwoghs*, the which they confirmed by shewing their green wounds.

But the night parting vs, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meeete; but after that we never saw them.

Entring the River of *Tockwogh*, the Saluages all armed in a fleete of Boates round environed vs. It chanced one of them could speake the language of *Powhatan*, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parly. But when they see vs furnished with the *Massawomeckes* weapons, and we faining the inuention of *Kecoughtan* to haue taken them perforce; they conducted vs to their pallizadoed towne, mantelled with the barkes of trees, with Scaffolds like mounts, brested about with Barks very formally. Their men, women, and children, with dances, songs, fruits, fish, furres, and what they had, kindly entertained vs, spreading mats for vs to sit on, [and] stretching their best abilities to expresse their loues.

Many hatchets, kniues, and peeces of yron and brasse,

*An
incounter
with the
Massawo-
mecks.*

[Four of
these five
First
Planters
were N.
Powell, A.
Todkill, E.
Pysing, and
J. Profit
See pp. 93,
94.]

[p. 422]

*An
incounter
with the
Tockwoghs.*

[1608]
Hatchets
from
Sasquesahanoock[s]

we saw; which they reported to haue from the *Sasquesahanoocks*, a mighty people, and mortall enimies with the *Massawomeeckes*.

The *Sasquesahanoocks* inhabit vpon the chiefe spring of these 4.; two daies journey higher then our Barge could passe for rocks. Yet we prevailed with the interpreter to take with him an other interpreter to perswade the *Sasquesahanoocks* to come to visit vs: for their language[s] are different.

[p 423]

3. or 4. daies we expected their returne. Then 60. of these giantlike-people came downe, with presents of venison, Tobacco [39] pipes, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrows. 5 of their *Werowances* came boldly abord vs, to crosse the bay for *Tockwogh*; leaving their men and Canowes; the winde being so violent that they durst not passe.

The Sasquesahanoocks offer to the English.

Our order was, dayly, to haue prayer, with a psalm: at which solemnitie the poore Salvages much wondered. Our prayers being done, they were long busied with consultation till they had contrived their businesse. Then they began in most passionate manner, to hold vp their hands to the sunne, with a most feareful song. Then imbracing the Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner: though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded til their song was finished. Which don[e], with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voice, [one] began an oration of their loues.

That ended, with a great painted beares skin, they couered our Captaine. Then one ready with a chaine of white beads (waighing at least 6 or 7 pound) hung it about his necke: the others had 18 mantles made of divers sorts of skinnes sowed together. All these, with many other toyes, they laid at his feet; stroking their ceremonious handes about his necke, for his creation to be their governour; promising their aids, victuals, or what they had, to be his, if he would stay with them, to defend and revenge them of the *Massawomeecks*.

But wee left them at *Tockwogh*, they much sorrowing for our departure: yet wee promised the next yeare againe to visit them.

Many descriptions and discourses they made vs of

Atquanahucke, Massawomecke, and other people; signifying [1608] they inhabitt the river of *Cannida*, and from the French to haue their hatchets and such like tooles by trade. [40] These knowe no more of the territories of *Powhatan* then his name, and he as little of them.

Thus hauing sought all the inlets and rivers worth *Pawtuxunt* noting, we returned to discover the river of *Pawtuxunt*. [R] These people we found very tractable, and more civil [¶ 424] then any. Wee promised them, as also the *Patawomecks*, the next yeare to revenge them of the *Massawomecks*.

Our purposes were crossed in the discoverie of the river *Toppahannock*, for wee had much wrangling with that *pewish nation*; but at last, they became as tractable as the rest. It is an excellent, pleasant, well inhabited, fertill, and a goodly navigable river. [pp 229, 419, 426]

Toward the head thereof, it pleased God to take one of our sickle (called Maister *Fetherstone*), where in Fetherstons bay, we buried him, in the night, with a volly of shot. The rest (notwithstanding their ill diet, and bad lodging, crowded in so small a barge, in so many dangers, neuer resting but alwaies tossed to[o] and againe) al well recovered their healthes. [¶ 426]

Then we discovered the riuier of *Payankatank*, and set saile for *Iames Towne*. But in crossing the bay in a faire calme, such a suddaine gust surprised vs in the night, with thunder and raine, as wee were halfe employed in freeing out water, never thinking to escape drowning; yet running before the winde, at last we made land by the flashes of fire from heaven: by which light only, we kept from the splitting shore, vntil it pleased God in that black darknes, to preserue vs by that light to find Point comfort. [¶ 430]

And [we] arived safe at *Iames Towne*, the 7 of September, 1608: where wee found Maister *Skriuener* and diverse others well recovered, many dead, some sickle; [and] the late President [a] prisoner for [41] muteny. By the honest diligence of Maister *Skriuener*, the harvest [had been] gathered; but the stores [and] provision [were] much spoilt with raine. Their proceedings at *Iames Towne*.

Thus was that yeare (when nothing wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the government of Captain *Rat[c]liffe*) but only this discoverie: wherein to

[1608] [p. 433] expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounteres, this small number passed in that small barge, with such watrie diet in these great waters and barbarous Countries (til then to any Christian vtterly vnknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced reader, than I would be tedious, or partiall being a partie.

By Nathaniell Po[w]ell, and Anas Todkill.





CHAPTER VII.

[¶ 433]

The Presidencie surrendered to Captaine Smith.

The arrivall and returne of the second supply: and what happened.



He 10. of September 1608. by the election of the Council, and request of the company, Captaine *Smith* received the letters patents, and tooke vpon him the place of President; which till then, by no meanes he would accept, though hee were often importuned therewnto.

[1608]

Now the building of *Ratcliffes* pallas staide, as a thing needlesse: the church was repaired, the storehouse, re-couered; [and] building prepared for the supply we expected. The fort [was] reduced to the forme of this figure, the order of watch renued, the squadrons (each setting of the watch) trained. The [42] whole company every Satturday exercised in a fielde prepared for that purpose; the boates trimmed for trade, which in their Iourney encountred the second supply, that brought them back to discover the country of *Monacan*.

QVERE.

How, or why Captaine *Newport* obtained such a private commission as not to returne without a lumpe of gold, a certainty of the south sea, or one of the lost company of Sir *Walter Rawley*, I know not: nor why he brought such a 5. pieced barge, not to beare vs to that south sea, till we had borne her over the mountaines (which how farre they extend is yet vnknowne). As for the coronation of *Powhatan*, and his presents of Bason, Ewer, Bed, Clothes, and such costly nouelties; they had bin much better well

[¶ 434]

[1608]

*Powhatans
scorne when
his curtesie
was most
deserved*

spared, then so ill spent: for we had his favour much better onlie for a poore peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting made him so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected vs as much as nothing at all.

As for the hiring of the Poles and Dutch, to make pitch and tarre, glasse, milles, and sope-ashes; [that] was most necessarie and well. But to send them and seauenta more without victuall, to worke, was not so well considered; yet this could not haue hurt vs, had they bin 200.; though then we were 130 that wanted for our selves. For we had the Salvages in that Decorum, (their haruest beeing newly gathered) that we feared not to get victual sufficient, had we bin 500.

*No way but
one to ouer-
threw the
busines.*

Now vvas there no way to make vs miserable but to neglect that time to make our provision, whilst it was to be had; the which vvas done to perfourme this strange discovery, but more strange coronation. To loose that time, spend that [43] victuall we had, tire and starue our men, having no means to carry victuall, munition, the hurt or sicke, but their owne backs: how or by whom they vvere invented I knowv not.

[p. 435]

But Captaine *Newport* we only accounted the author; who to effect these projects, had so gilded all our hopes with great promises, that both company and Councel concluded his resolution. I confesse we little vnderstood then our estates, to conclude his conclusion against al the inconveniences the foreseeing President alleadged. There was added to the councell, one Captaine *Waldo*, and Captaine *Winne*; two ancient souldiers and valiant gentlemen, but ignorant of the busines, being newly arriued. *Ratcliffe* vvas also permitted to haue his voice; and *Maister Scrivener* [was] desirous to see strange countries. So that although *Smith* was President, yet the Councell had the authoritie, and ruled it as they listed.

As for clearing *Smiths* objections, how pitch, and tarre, wa[i] nscot, clapbord, glasse, and sope ashes could be provided to relade the ship; or provision got to liue withal when none was in the Country, and that which we had, spent before the ships departed: the answer was, Captaine *Newport* vndertook to fraught the Pinnace with corne, in going and returning in his discoverie, and to refraught her

againe from *Werawocomoco*; also promising a great proportion of victuall from his ship, inferring that *Smiths* propositions were only devises to hinder his iourney, to effect it himselfe; and that the crueltie *Smith* had vsed to the Salvages in his absence, might occasion them to hinder his designes. For which, al workes were left, and 120 chosen men were appointed for his guard. [44].

[1608]

And *Smith*, to make cleere these seeming suspicions, that the Salvages were not so desperat[e] as was pretended by Captaine *Newport*, and how willing he was to further them to effect their projects; because the coronation would consume much time, vndertooke their message to *Powhatan* (to intreat him to come to *Iames Towne* to receiue his presents) accompanied only with Captaine *Waldo*, Maister *Andrew Buckler*, Edward *Brinton*, and *Samuel Collier*.

With these 4, hee went overland [to] against *Werawocomoco*, there passed the river of *Pamunke* in the Salvages Canowes. *Powhatan* being 30 myles off; who, presently, was sent for. In the meane time, his women entertained *Smith* in this manner.

In a faire plaine field, they made a fire; before which, he sitting vpon a mat, suddainly amongst the woods was heard such a hideous noise and shriking, that they betooke them to their armes, supposing *Powhatan* with all his power came to surprise them: but the beholders, which were many, men women and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter; being presently presented with this anticke.

30 young women came naked out of the woods (only covered behind and before with a few greene leaues), their bodies al painted, some white, some red, some black, some partie colour; but every one different. Their leader had a faire paire of stagges hornes on her head, and an otter skinne at her girdle, another at her arme, a quiver of arrowes at her backe, and bow and arrowes in her hand. The next, in her hand a sword; another, a club; another, a pot-stick: all horn[e]d alike. The rest, every one with their severall devises.

These feindes, with most hellish [45] cries and shouts, rushing from amongst the trees, cast themselues in a ring

Captaine
Smith with
4 goeth to
Powhatan.

12. 436.]

The
womens
entertain-
ment at
*Werawoco-
moco*.

[1608] about the fire, singing and dauncing with excellent ill varietie, oft falling into their infernall passions, and then solemnly againe to sing and daunce. Hauing spent neere an houre, in this maskarado; as they entered, [they] in like manner departed.

Hauing reaccommodated themselues, they solemnly invited Smith to their lodging: but no sooner was hee within the house, but all these Nymphes [the] more tormented him than ever, with crowding, and pressing, and hanging vpon him, most tediously crying, *loue you not mee.*

This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of fruit in baskets, fish and flesh in wooden platters; beans and pease there wanted not (for 20 hogges), nor any Salvage daintie their invention could devise: some attending, others singing and dancing about them.

This mirth and banquet being ended, with firebrands (instead of torches) they conducted him to his lodging.

[p. 437]
*Captain
Smith's
message.*

The next day, came *Powhatan*. Smith delivered his message of the presents sent him, and redelivered him *Namontack*; desiring him [to] come to his Father *Newport* to accept those presents, and conclude their revenge against the *Monacans*.

*Powhatan's
answer.*

Wherevnto the subtile Salvage thus replied

If your king haue sent me presents, I also am a king, and this [is] my land. 8 daies I will stay to receaue them. Your father is to come to me, not I to him; nor yet to your fort: neither will I bite at such a baite. As for the *Monacans*, I can revenge my owne iniuries; and as for *Atquanuchuck*, where you say your brother was slain [pp. 20, 28]; it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it [46]. But for any salt water beyond the mountaines, the relations you haue had from my people are false.

Wherevpon he began to draw plots vpon the ground, according to his discourse, of all those regions.

Many other discourses they had (yet both desirous to giue each other content in Complementall courtesies), and so Captaine Smith returned with this answer.

*Powhatan's
Coronation.*

Vpon this Captaine *Newport* sent his presents by water, which is neare[ly] 100 miles; with 50 of the best shot

himselfe went by land, which is but 12 miles ; where he met with our 3 barges to transport him over.

[1608]

All things being fit for the day of his coronation, the presents were brought, his bason, ewer, bed and furniture set vp : [and] his scarlet cloake and apparel (with much adoe) put on him, (being perswaded by *Namontacke* they would doe him no hurt). But a fowle trouble there was to make him kneele to receaue his crowne. He, neither knowing the maiestie nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, indured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tired them all. At last, by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and *Newport* put the Crowne on his head ; when, by the warning of a pistol, the boates were prepared with such a volly of shot, that the king start[ed] vp in a horrible feare, till he saw all was well. Then remembiring himselfe, to congratulate their kindnesse, he gaue his old shoes and his mantle to Captain *Newport*.

[p. 438.]

But perceiuing his purpose was to discover the *Monacans*, hee laboured to divert his resolution ; refusing to lend him either men or guides more then *Namontack*. And so, after some complementall kindnesse [47] on both sides, in requitall of his presents, he presented *Newport* with a heape of wheat eares, that might contain 7 or 8 bushels ; and as much more we bought, ready dressed, in the town : wherewith we returned to the fort.

The ship having disburdened her selfe of 70 persons, with the first gentlewoman and woman servant that arrived in our Colony ; Captaine *Newport* with al the Councell, and 120 chosen men, set forward for the discovery of *Monacan* : leauing the President at the fort with 80. (such as they were) to relade the shipp.

The discovery of Monacan.

Arriving at the falles, we marched by land some forty myles in 2 daies and a halfe ; and so returned downe to the same path we went. Two townes wee discovered of the *Monacans*, the people neither vsing vs well nor ill : yet for our securitie wee tooke one of their pettie *Werowances*, and lead him bound, to conduct vs the way.

And in our returne [we] searched many places wee supposed mynes, about which we spent some time in refining ; having one *William Callicut* a refiner, fitted for that pur-

[1608]

pose. From that crust of earth wee digged, hee perswaded vs to beleue he extracted some smal quantitie of siluer (and not vnlikely better stiffe might bee had for the digging). With this poore trial, we were contented to leauie this faire, fertill, well watred countrie.

Comming to the Falles, the Saluages fained there were diverse ships come into the Bay to kill them at *James Towne*. Trade they would not; and find their corn we could not, for they had hid it in the woods: and being thus deluded, we arriued at *James Towne*, halfe sicke, all complaining and tired with toile famine and discontent [48] to haue only but discovered our gilded hopes, and such fruitlesse certaineties, as the President foretold vs.

[A. 439.]

No sooner were we landed, but the President dispersed [as] many as were able, some for glasse, others for pitch, tarre, and sope ashes; leaving them [*the rest*], with the fort, to the Councils oversight.

But 30 of vs he conducted 5. myles from the fort to learn to make clapboard, cut downe trees, and ly[e] in woods. Amongst the rest, he had chosen *Gabriell Beadell*, and *Iohn Russell* the only two gallants of this last supply, and both proper gentlemen. Strange were these pleasures to their conditions: yet lodging, eating, drinking, working, or playing, they doing but as the President, all these things were carried so pleasantly, as within a weeke, they became Masters; making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell. But the axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that commonly every third blow had a lowd oath to drown the echo: for remedy of which sin, the President devised howe to haue everie mans oathes numbered; and at night, for every oath to haue a can of water povvred downe his sleeue. VVith which, every offender vvas so vvashed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarce heare an oath in a weeke.

A punishment for swearing

By this, let no man think that the President, or these gentlemen spent their times as common wood-hackers at felling of trees, or such like other labours; or that they were pressed to anything as hirelings or common slaves: for what they did (being but once a little inured), it seemed, and they conceited it, only as a pleasure and a recreation.

Yet 30 or 40 of such voluntary [49] Gentlemen would doe more in a day then 100 of the rest that must bee prest to it by compulsion. Master Scrivener, Captaine Waldo, and Captaine Winne at the fort; every one in like manner, carefully regarded their charge.

[1608]
One
gentleman
better than
20 tubbers.
[p. 440.]

The President, returning from amongst the woodes, seeing the time consumed, and no provision gotten, (and the ship lay Idle, and would do nothing), presently im-barked himselfe in the discovery barge; giuing order to the Councell, to send *Master Persey* after him, with the next barge that arrived at the fort. 2 barges he had himselfe, and 20 men. But arriving at *Chickahamina*, that dogged nation was too wel acquainted with our wants, refusing to trade with as much scorne and insolencie as they could expresse. The President perceiving it was *Powhatans* pollicy to starue vs, told them he came not so much for their corne, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the death of his men murdered by them [p. 16]. And so landing his men, and ready to charge them, they immedately fled. But then they sent their imbassadours, with corne, fish, fowl, or what they had, to make their peace: (their corne being that year bad) they complained extreamly of their owne wants; yet fraughted our boats with 100 bushels of corne, and in like manner *Master Persies*, that not long after vs arriued. They having done the best they could to contentvs; within 4. or 5. daies, we returned to Iames Towne.

*The
Chicka-
hamines
forced to
contribution.*

Though this much contented the company (that then feared nothing but starving) yet some so envied his good successe, that they rather desired to starue, then his paines should proue so much more effectuall then [50] theirs. Some projects there was, not only to haue deposed him but to haue kept him out of the fort; for that being President, he would leaue his place and the fort without their consents: but their hornes were so much too short to effect it, as they themselues more narrowly escaped a greater mischiefe.

*A bad
reward for
well doing.*

All this time our old taverne made as much of all them that had either mony or ware as could bee desired; and by this time they were become so perfect on all sides (I meane Souldiers, Sailers, and Salvages,) as there was ten times more care to maintaine their damnable and private trade, then to provide for the Colony things that were

*A good
taverne in
Virginia*

[p. 441.]

[1608]

necessary. Neither was it a small pollicy in the mariners, to report in England wee had such plenty, and [to] bring vs so many men without victuall; when they had so many private factors in the fort, that within 6. or 7. weekes after the ships returne [*i.e., to Virginia*], of 2. or 300. hatchets, chissels, mattocks, and pickaxes, scarce 20 could be found: for pike-heads, kniues, shot, powder, or any thing (they could steale from their fellowes) was vendible. They knew as well (and as secretly) how to convoy them to trade with the Salvages, for furres, baskets, mussaneekes, young beastes, for such like commodities; as exchange them with the sailers, for butter, cheese, bife, porke, aquavitæ, beere, bisket, and oatmeale: and then faine, all was sent them from their friends. And though Virginia [hath] afford[ed] no furs for the store; yet one mariner in one voyage hath got so many, as hee hath confessed to haue solde in England for 30l.

*A bad trade
of masters
and sailors.*

Those are the Saint-seeming worthies of *Virginia*; [51] that haue notwithstanding all this, meate, drinke, and pay: but now they begin to grow weary, their trade being both perceived and prevented.

None hath bin in *Virginia* (that hath not observed any thing) which knowes not this to be true; and yet the scorne and shame was the poore souldiers, gentlemen, and carelesse governours, who were all thus bought and solde; the aduenturerers couensed, and the action overthowrne by their false excuses, informations, and directions. By this let all the world Iudge how this businesse coulde prosper; being thus abused by such pilfering occasions.

The proceedings and accidents, with the second supply.

*Skrivener
voyage to
Werawoco-*

Master Scrivener was sent with the barges and Pinas to *Werawocomoco*, where he found the Salvages more ready to fight then trade: but his vigilancy was such, as prevented their projectes, and by the meanes of *Namontack*, got 3. or 4. hogsheads of corne, and as much Red paint, which (then) was esteemed an excellent die.

Captaine *Newport* being dispatched with the tryals of pitch, tarre, glasse, frankincense, and sope ashes, with

that clapbord and wainscot [which] could bee provided, [1608]
met with Master Scrivener at point Comfort, and so returned [p. 442]
for England; leaving vs in all 200, with those hee brought
vs.

The names of those in this supply are these.

[p. 445]

Captaine Peter Winne.
Captaine Richard Waldo. } were appointed to bee of the
Councell. [52]

Master Francis Wcst.
Thomas Graues.
Rawley Chroshaw.
Gabriell Bedle.
Iohn Russell.
Iohn Bedle.
William Russell.
John Gudderington.
William Sambage.
Henry Collings.
Henry Ley.
Harmon Haryson.
Daniell Tucker.
Hugh Wollystone.
Iohn Hoult.
Thomas Norton.
George Yarington.
George Burton.
Henry Philpot.
Thomas Maxes.
Michaell Lowicke.
Master Hunt.
Thomas Forest.
William Dowman.
John Dauxe.
Thomas Abbay.

Gent.

Thomas Phelps.
Iohn Part.
Iohn Clarke.
Iefry Shortridge. [53]
Dius Oconor.
Hugh Wynne.
Davi[d] Vphu.
Thomas Bradley.
Iohn Burras.
Thomas Lavander.
Henry Bell.
Master Powell.
Davi[d] Ellys.
Thomas Gipson.
Thomas Dowse.
Thomas Mallard.
William Taler.
Thomas Fox.
Nicholas Hancock.
Walker.
Williams.
Morrell.
Rose.
Scot.
Hardwin.
Milman.
Hellyard.

Tradesmen [i.e., Artizans].

[p. 446]

Laborers.

Boys.

Mistresse Forest and Anne Buras [see p. 130] her maide, 8.
Dutchmen and Poles, with divers to the number of 70. persons.

Those poore conclusions so affrighted vs all with famine,
that the President provided for Nansamund. [He] tooke

*Nansa-
mund forced
to contribu-
tion.*

[1608] with him Captaine *Winne*, and Master *Scrivener* (then returning from Captaine *Newport*).

I. 447 These people also [54] long denied him trade (excusing themselves to bee so commanded by *Powhatan*) til we were constrained to begin with them perforce, and then they would rather sell vs some, then wee should take all. So loading our boats with 100 bushels, we parted friends, and came to Iames Towne: at which time, there was a marriage betweene *John Laydon* and *Anna Burrowes* [see p. 129]; being the first marriage we had in *Virginia*.

Appama-tucke discovered.

Long he staied not, but fitting himselfe and captaine *Waldo* with 2. barges [the President sought] from *Chawopo, weanocke* and all parts there, [where] was found neither corne nor Salvage, but all fled (being Iealous of our intents) till we discovered the river and people of *Appametuck*, where we found [but] little. That they had we equally devided betwixt the Salvages and vs, but gaue them copper in consideration.

Master *Persie* and Master *Scrivener* went also abroad, but could finde nothing.

The President seeing this proc[r]astinating of time, was no course to liue, resolued with Captaine *Waldo* (who he knew to be sure in time of need), to surprise *Powhatan* and al his provision: but the vnwillingnes of Captaine *Winne*, and Master *Scrivener* (for some private respects), did their best to hinder their project.

But the President, whom no perswasions could perswade to starue, being invited by *Powhatan* to come vnto him: and if he would send him but men to build him a house, bring him a grin[d]stone, 50. swords, some peeces, a cock and a hen, with copper and beads; he would loade his shippes with corne.

The President not ignoraunt of his devises, yet vnwilling to neglect any opportunity, presently sent 3. Dutch-men and 2. English (having no victuals [55] to employ them, all for want thereof being idle). Knowing there needed no better castel then that house, to surprize *Powhatan* [in]; to effect this project, he took order with Captaine *Waldo*, to second him, if need required. *Scrivener*, he left [as] his subsitute; and set forth with the Pinnas, 2. barges, and six and forty men, which only were such as voluntarily

offered themselues for his iourny : the which (by reason of *Master Scriveners* ill successe) was censured very desperate. They all knowing *Smith* would not returne empty howsoever, caused many of those that he had appointed to find excuses to stay behinde.

[1608]



C H A P T E R V I I I .

[p. 448]

Captaine Smiths iourney to Pamavnke.

HE 29 of December [1608], hee set forward for *Werawocomoco.*: his company were these.

In the Discovery barge, himselfe.

<i>Robert Behethland.</i>	Gent.	<i>Anas Todkill.</i>	Sould. [56]
<i>Nathaniell Powell.</i>		<i>VVilliam Loue.</i>	
<i>John Russell.</i>		<i>VVilliam Bentley.</i>	
<i>Rawly Crashaw.</i>		<i>Geoffrey Shortridge.</i>	
<i>Michaell Sicklemore.</i>		<i>Edward Pising.</i>	
<i>Richard Worlie.</i>		<i>VVilliam VVarde.</i>	

In the Pinnace.

Master George Persie, brother to the Earle of Northumberland; Master Frauncis VWest, brother to the Lord De-la-Ware.

VVilliam Phetiplace, Captaine of the Pinnas.

Ionas Profit, Master.

Robert Ford, clarcke of the councell.

<i>Michaell Phetiplace.</i>	Gent.	<i>John Dods.</i>	Sould.
<i>Geoffrey Abbot, Serg.</i>		<i>Edward Brinton.</i>	
<i>VVilliam Tankard.</i>		<i>Nathaniel Peacocke.</i>	
<i>George Yarington.</i>		<i>Henry Powell.</i>	
<i>Iames Bourne.</i>		<i>David Ellis.</i>	
<i>George Burton.</i>		<i>Thomas Gipson.</i>	
<i>Thomas Coe.</i>		<i>John Prat.</i>	

[1608-9]	George Acrigge.	}	Anthony Bagly, Serg.	}
	James Reade.		Thomas Lambert.	
	Nicholas Hancocke.		Edward Pising, Serg.	
	James VVatkins.		[Pis ng was in the barge, see previous page]	

4. Dutchmen and Richard Salvage were sent by land, to build the house for Powhatan against our arrivall.

This company being victualled but for 3. or 4. daies, [57] lodged the first night at Weraskoyack; where the President tooke sufficient provision.

This kind Salvage did his best to divert him from seeing Powhatan: but perceiving he could not prevaile, he advised in this manner

1st 449
The good
counsel of
Weraskoyack.

Captaine Smith, you shall finde Powhatan to vse you kindly, but trust him not; and bee sure hee haue no opportunitie to seaze on your armes, for hee hath sent for you only to cut your throats.

The Captaine thanked him for his good counsell; yet the better to try his loue, desired guides to Chowanoke, for he would sent a present to that king to bind him his friend. To performe this iourney, was sent Michael Sicklemore, a very honest, valiant, and painefull soldier: with him, two guid[e]s, and directions howe to search for the lost company of Sir Walter Rawley, and silke grasse.

Then wee departed thence, the President assuring the king [of] his perpetuall loue; and left with him Samuell Collier his page, to learne the language.

Plentie of
victuall.
Christmas
ends on
6 Jan 1

The next night being lodged at Kecoughtan, [for] 6 or 7 daies, the extreame wind, raine, frost, and snowe caused vs to keepe Christmas amongst the Salvages: where wee were never more merrie, nor fedde on more plentie of good oysters, fish, flesh, wild foule, and good bread; nor never had better fires in England then in the drie warme smokie houses of Kecoughtan.

But departing thence, when we found no houses, we were not curios [fastidious] (in any weather) to lie, 3 or 4 nights together, vpon any shore, vnder the trees, by a good fire. 148 fowles, the President, Anthony Bagly, and Edward Pising [the two Serjeants] did kill at 3 shoots.

148 Fowles
killed at 3
shoots.

At Kiskiack, the frost forced vs 3 or 4 daies, also to

suppresse the insolencie of those [58] proud Salvages, to quarter in their houses and guard our barge, and [to] cause them to giue vs what wee wanted : yet were we but 12 with the President, and yet we neuer wanted harbour [shelter] where we found any houses.

[1609]

The 12 of Ianuarie [1609], we arrived at *Werawocomoco*, where the river was frozen neare halfe a mile from the shore. But to neglect no time, the President with his barge, so farre had approached, by breaking the Ice, as the eb[b] left him amongst those oozie shoules : yet, [§ 450] rather then to lie there frozen to death, by his owne example, hee taught them to march middle deepe, more then a flight shot, through this muddie froye ooze. When the barge flo[a]ted, he appointed 2 or 3 to returne her abo[a]rd the Pinnace ; where, for want of water, in melting the salt ice they made fresh water. But in this march, Master [John] Russell (whome none could perswade to stay behind) being somewhat ill and exceeding[ly] heavie, so overtoiled him selfe, as the rest had much adoe (ere he got a shore) to regain life into his dead benummed spirits.

An ill march

Quartering in the next houses we found, we sent to *Powhatan* for provision ; who sent vs plentie of bread, Turkies, and Venison.

The next day, hauing feasted vs after his ordinarie manner ; he began to aske, when we would bee gon[e], fainting [feigning] hee sent not for vs : neither had hee any corne, and his people much lesse ; yet for 40 swords he would procure vs 40 bushels.

The President, shewing him the men there present, that brought him the message and conditions, asked him, how it chaunced he became so forgetful : thereat, the king concluded the matter with a merry laughter, asking for our commodities ; but none he liked without gunnes and swords, [59] valuing a basket of corne more pretious then a basket of copper, saying he could eate his corne, but not his copper.

Powhatans subtiltie.

Captaine Smith seeing the intent of this subtil Saluage, began to deale with him after this manner.

Powhatan, though I had many courses to haue made my provision ; yet beleeving your promises to supply my wants, I neglected all, to satisfie your

Captaine Smithes discourse to Powhatan.

[1609]

desire: and to testifie my loue, I sent you my men for your building, neglecting my owne. What your people had, you haue engrossed, forbidding them our trade; and nowe you thinke by consuming the time, wee shall consume for want, not hauing [wherewith] to fulfill your strange demandes. As for swords and gunnes, I told you long agoe, I had none to spare. And you shall knowe, those I haue, can keepe me from want: yet steale, or wrong you, I will not; nor dissolute that friendship wee haue mutually promised, except you constraine mee by your bad vsage.

*Powhatans
reply and
flattery.*

[p. 457]

The king hauing attentiuely listned to this discourse, promised that both hee and his Country would spare him what they could; the which within 2 daies, they should receaue. Yet, Captaine *Smith*, (saith the king) some doubt I haue of your comming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to relieue you as I would: for many do informe me, your comming is not for trade, but to invade my people and possesse my Country: who dare not come to bring you corne, seeing you [are] thus armed with your men. To cleere vs of this feare, leaue abord your weapons; for here they are needlesse, we being all friends and for ever *Powhatans*. [60]

With many such discourses, they spent the day, quart[e]ring that night in the kings houses.

The next day, he reviewed his building, which hee little intended should proceed. For the Dutchmen finding his plenty, and knowing our want; and perceiving his preparation to surprise vs, little thinking wee could escape both him, and famine: to obtaine his favour, reuealed to him as much as they knew of our estates and projectes, and how to prevent them. One of them being of so good a iudgement, spirit, and resolution (and a hireling that was certaine of wages for his labour; and ever well vsed, both he and his countrimen) that the President knewe not whome better to trust; and, not knowing any fitter for that imployement, had sent him as a spie, to discover *Powhatans* intent, then little doubting his honestie; nor could ever be certaine of his villany till neare halfe a yeare after [p. 150].

Whilst we expected the comming in of the countrie, we wrangled out of the king 10 quarters of corne for a copper kettle ; the which the President perceiving him much to effect, valued it at a much greater rate, but (in regard of his scarcety) hee would accept of as much more the next yeare, or else the country of *Monacan*. The King exceeding liberall of that hee had not, yeelded him *Monacan*. Wherewith each seeming well contented, *Powhatan* began to expostulate the difference betwixt peace and war, after this manner.

[1609]

Captaine *Smith*, you may vnderstand that I, hauing seene the death of all my people thrice, and not one living of those 3 generations but my selfe, I knowe the difference of peace and warre better then any in my [61] Countrie. But now I am old, and ere long must die. My brethren, namely *Opichapam*; *Opechankanough*, and *Kekataugh*, my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others successors. I wish their experiences no lesse then mine, and your loue to them, no lesse then mine to you : but this bru[i]te from *Nansanund*, that you are come to destroy my Countrie, so much affrighteth all my people, as they dare not visit you. What will it availe you to take that perforce, you may quietly haue with loue, or to destroy them that provide you food ? What can you get by war, when we can hide our provision and flie to the woodes, whereby you must famish, by wronging vs your friends ? And whie are you thus iealous of our loues, seeing vs vnarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feed you with that you cannot get but by our labours ? Think you I am so simple not to knowe it is better to eate good meate, lie well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merrie with you, haue copper, hatchets, or what I want, being your friend ; then bee forced to flie from al, to lie cold in the woods, feed vpon acorns roots and such trash, and be so hunted by you that I can neither rest eat nor sleepe, but my tired men must watch, and if a twig but breake, everie one crie, there comes Captaine *Smith* : then must I flie I knowe not whether, and thus with miserable feare end my

*Powhatans
discourse of
peace and
warre.*

[p. 45a.]

[1609]

miserable life, leauing my pleasures to such youths as you, which, through your rash vnadvisednesse, may quickly as miserably ende, for want of that you never knowe how to find? Let this therefore assure you of our loues, and everie yeare our friendly trade shall furnish you [62] with corne; and now also if you would come in friendly manner to see vs, and not thus with your gunnes and swords, as to invade your foes.

C. Smiths
reply

To this subtil discourse, the President thus replied.

Seeing you will not rightly conceaue of our words, wee striue to make you knowe our thoughts by our deeds. The vow I made you of my loue, both my selfe and my men haue kept. As for your promise I finde it everie daie violated by some of your subiects; yet wee finding your loue and kindnesse, our custome is so far from being vngratefull, that for your sake only, wee haue curbed our thirsting desire of revenge, else had they knowne as wel the crueltie we vse to our enimies as our true loue and curtesie to our friendes. And I thinke your iudgement sufficient to conceiue, as well by the adventures we haue vndertaken, as by the advantage we haue by our armes, of yours: that had wee intended you anie hurt, long ere this we coulde haue effected it. Your people comming to me at *Iames* towne, are entertained with their bowes and arrowes without exception; we esteeming it with you, as it is with vs, to weare our armes as our apparell. As for the dangers of our enimies, in such warres consist[s] our chiefest pleasure. For your riches we haue no vse. As for the hiding [of] your provision, or by your flying to the woods; we shall [not] so vnadvisedly starue as you conclude: your friendly care in that behalfe is needlesse, for we haue a rule to finde beyond your knowledge.

Manie other discourses they had, til at last they began to trade. But the king seing his will would not bee admitted as a lawe, our guard [not] dispersed, nor our men [63] disarmed; he, sighing, breathed his mind once more, in this manner.

Captaine Smith, I neuer vsed anie of *Werowances* so

[p. 453]

kindlie as your selfe; yet from you, I receaue the least kindnesse of anie. Captaine *Newport* gaue me swords, copper, cloths, a bed, tooles, or what I desired; ever taking what I offered him: and would send awaie his gunnes when I intreated him. None doth denie to laie at my feet, or do, what I desire, *but onelie you*; of whom I can haue nothing but what you regard not: and yet you wil haue whatsoeuer you demand. Captain *Newport* you call father, and so you call me: but I see, for all vs both, you will doe what you list, and wee must both seeke to content you. But if you intend so friendlie as you saie, sende hence your armes that I may beleuee you: for you see the loue I beare you, doth cause mee thus nakedlie [to] forget my selfe.

*Powhatans
impot-
tunitie
for to haue
them
unarmed,
to betray
them.*

Smith (seeing this Salvage but trifled the time, to cut his throat) procured the Salvages to bieake the ice, that his boat might come to fetch both him and his corne; and gaue order for his men to come ashore, to haue surprised the king: with whom also, he but trifled the time till his men landed; and to keepe him from suspition, entertained the time with this reply.

Powhatan, you must knowe as I haue but one God, I honour but one king: and I liue not here as yoursucciect, but as your friend to pleasure you with what I can. By the gifts you bestowe on me, you gaine more then by trade: yet would you visite mee as I doe you, you should knowe it is not our customes to sell our curtesie as a vendible commoditie. Bring all your Country [64] with you for your g[u]ard, I will not dislike of it as being over iealous. But to content you, to-morrow I will leaue my armes, and trust to your promise. I call you father indeed, and as a father you shall see I will loue you: but the smal care you had of such a child, caused my men perswade me to shift for my selfe.

*C. Smiths
discourse to
delay time,
that hee
might
surprise
Powhatan*

By this time, *Powhatan* having knowledge [that] his men were readie; whilst the ice was breaking, his luggage, women and children fledde. And to avoid suspition [he] left 2 or 3 of his women talking with the Captaine; whilst he secretly fled, and his men as secretlie beset the house. Which being at the instant discovered to Captaine *Smith*;

*[The last
time Smith
sees Pow-
hatan]*

*Powhatans
plot to haue
murdered
Smith.*

[p. 454]

[1609] with his Pistol, Sword and Target, he made such a passage amongst those naked divels that they fled before him, some one waie, some another: so that without hurt, he obtained [reached] the Corps du guard.

When they perceiued him so well escaped, and with his 8 men (for he had no more with him), to the vttermost of their skill, they sought by excuses to dissemble the matter. And Powhatan, to excuse his flight and the suddaine comming of this multitude, sent our Captaine a greate bracelet and a chaine of pearle, by an ancient Orator that bespoke vs to this purpose (perceiving then from our Pinnace, a barge and men departing and comming vnto vs.)

*A chaine of
pearle for a
present.*

Captaine Smith, our *Werowans* is fled, fearing your guns; and knowing [that] when the ice was broken, there would come more men, sent those of his, to guard his corne from the pilfrie that might happen without your knowledge. Now though some bee hurt by your misprison; yet he is your friend, and so wil continue. And since the ice is open, hee would haue you send awaie [65] your corne; and if you would haue his companie, send also your armes, which so affrighteth this people that they dare not come to you, as he hath promised they should.

Nowe having prouided baskets for our men to carrie the corne, they kindlie offered their service to g[u]ard our armes, that none should steale them. A great manie they were, of goodlie well appointed fellowes, as grim as divels: yet the verie sight of cocking our matches against them, and a few words, caused them to leaue their bowes and arrowes to our gu[a]rd, and beare downe our corne on their own backes. Wee needed not importune them to make quick despatch.

Pretending to kill our men lo[ad]ed with baskets, we forced the Salvages [to] carrie them.

But our own barge being left by the ebb, caused vs to staie till the midnight tide carried vs safe abo[a]rd [*i.e., by the side of the Pinnace*].

[p. 455]

Hauing spent that halfe night with such mirth as though we never had suspected or intended anything; we left the Dutchman to build, Brinton to kil fowle for Powhatan as by his messengers he importunately desired; and left directions with our men to giue Powhatan all the content they could, that we might inioy his company at our returne from Pamaunke.

CHAPTER IX.

[p. 456]

How we escaped surprising at Pamavnke.

WEE had no sooner set saile, but Powhatan returned, and sent Adam and Francis (2. stout Dutch men) to the fort: who fained to Captainne VVinne that al things were well, and that Captaine Smith had vse for their armes: wherefore they requested newe [66] (the which were giuen them). They told him their comming was for some extraordinary tooles and shift of apparell. By this colourable excuse, they obtained 6. or 7. more to their confederacie, such expert theefes that presently furnished them with a great many swords, pike-heads, peeces, shot, powder, and such like. They had Salvages at hand ready to carry it away. The next day, they returned vnsuspected, leaving their confederates to follow; and, in the interim, to convay them a competencie of all things they could: for which service, they should liue with Powhatan as his chiefe affected, free from those miseries that would happen [to] the Colony.

Samuell their other consort, Powhatan kept for their pledge; whose diligence had prouided him [Powhatan] 300. of their kinde of hatchets; the rest, 50. swords, 8. peeces, and 8. pikes.

Brinton and Richard Salvage seeing the Dutch-men so strang[e]ly diligent to accommodate the Salvages [with] these weapons, attempted to haue got to Iames Towne; but they were apprehended.

Within 2. or 3. daies, we arrived at Pamavnke: the king [i.e., Opechancanough] as many daies entertained vs with feasting and much mirth.

And the day he appointed to begin our trade, the President, with Master Persie, Master West, Master Russell, Master Beheathland, Master Powell, Master Crashaw, Master Ford, and some others, to the number of 15., went vp to Opechancanoug[h]s house (near a quarter of a mile from the river); where we [the writers of this portion of the Work, pp. 148, 131, were evidently of this party] founde nothing but a lame fellow and a boy, and all the houses about, of all things abandoned.

[1609]
*The dutch
men de-
cease
C. Smith.*

*Opechan-
coughs
abandoned.*

[1609]

[p 457]

Smiths
speech to
Opechancanough.

Not long we staide ere the king arrived, and after him, came divers of his people loaded with bowes and arrowes; but such pinching commodities, and those esteemed at such a value [67], as our Captaine beganne with him, in this manner.

Opechancanough, the great loue you professe with your tongue, seemes meere deceipt by your actions. Last yeare, you kindly fraughted our ship; but now you haue invited me to starue with hunger. You know my want; and I, your plenty: of which, by some meanes, I must haue part. Remember it is fit for kings to keepe their promise. Here are my commodities, whereof take your choice: the rest I will proportion fit bargaines for your people.

The king seemed kindly to accept this offer; and the better to colour his project, sold vs what they had to our own content: promising the next day, more company, better provided.

The barges and Pinnas being committed to the charge of *Master Phetiplace*: the President, with his old 15, marched vp to the kings house; where we found 4 or 5 men newly come with great baskets.

700 *Salvages*
beset the
English
being but 16

Not long after came the king, who, with a strained cheerefulnes, held vs with discourse, what paines he had taken to keepe his promise, till *Master Russell* brought vs in news that we were all betraied, for at least 6. or 700. of well appointed Indians had invironed the house and beset the fields.

Smiths
speech to his
company.

The king coniecturing what *Russell* related, we could wel perceiue how the extremity of his feare bewrayed his intent. Whereat, some of our companie seeming dismaide with the thought of such a multitude, the Captaine encouraged vs after this manner.

Worthy countrymen, were the mischieves of my seeming friends no more then the danger of these enemies, I little cared, were they as many more, if you [68] dare do but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, our malicious councell, with their open-mouthed minions, will make mee such a peace-breaker (in their opinions) in England, as

wil break my neck. I could wish those here, that make these seeme Saints, and me an oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherin I pray, aide me with your opinions. Should wee begin with them and surprize this king, we cannot keep him and defend well our selues. If we should each kill our man, and so proceede with al[!] in this house, the rest will all fly: then shall we get no more then the bodies that are slaine, and then starue for victuall. As for their fury, it is the least danger. For well you know, being alone assaulted with 2 or 300 of them, I made them compound to sauе my life; and we are now 16 and they but 700. at the most; and assure your selues God wil so assist vs, that if you dare but to stande to discharge your peeces, the very smoake will bee sufficient to affright them. Yet howsoever, if there be occasion, let vs fight like men, and not die like sheep: but first I will deale with them to bring it to passe, we may fight for something, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion, promise me youle [you will] be valiant.

The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatsoever he attempted, or die. Wherupon the captaine approaching the king, bespake him in this manner.

I see *Opechancanough*, your plot to murder me; but I feare it not. As yet your men and mine haue done no harme but by our directions. Take therefore your arms, you see mine. My body shalbe as naked as yours, [69] the Ile in your river is a fit place, if you be contented; and the conqueror, of vs two, shalbe Lord and Master over all our men. Otherwaies drawe all your men into the field, if you haue not enough, take time to fetch more; and bring what number you will, so everie one bring a basket of corne: against all which, I will stake the value in copper. You see I haue but 15 men, and our game shalbe, the conqueror take all.

The king, being guarded with 50 or 60 of his chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease Smiths suspition of vnkindnesse, by a great present at the dore, they intreated him to receiue. This was to draw him without the dore, where

*Smiths offer
to Opechan-
canough.*

*Opechana-
noughs
device to
betray
Smith*

[1609]

p 4581

[1609]

the present was g[u]arded with at the least 200 men, and 30 lying under a greate tree that lay thwart as a Barricado, each [with] his arrow nocked ready to shoot.

[p. 459]

Some, the President commanded to go and see what kinde of deceit this was, and to receiue the present; but they refused to do it: yet divers offered, whom he would not permit: but commanding *Master Persie* and *Master VVest* to make good the house, tooke *Master Po[w]ell* and *Master Beheathland* to guard the dore; and in such a rage, snatched the king by his vambrace in the midst of his men, with his pistoll ready bent against his brest. Thus he led the trembling king, neare dead with feare, amongst all his people; who delivering the Captaine his bow and arrowes, all his men were easily intreated to cast downe their armes, little dreaming anie durst in that manner haue vsed their king: who then, to escape himselfe, bestowed his presents in good sadnessse.

And hauing caused all his multitude to approach disarmed, the President argued with them to this effect. [70]

*Smiths
discourse
to the Pa-
maunkies*

I see, you *Pamavnie*, the great desire you haue to cut my throat, and my long suffering [of] your iniurie haue imboldened you to this presumption. The cause I haue forborne your insolencies is the promise I made you, before the God I serue, to be your friend, till you giue me iust cause to bee your enimie. If I keepe this vow, my God will keepe mee; you cannot hurt me: if I breake it, he will destroie me. But if you shoot but one arrow to shed one drop of blood of any of my men, or steale the least of these beades or copper I spurne before me with my foot; you shall see, I wil not cease revenge, if once I begin, so long as I can heare where to find one of your nation that will not deny the name of *Pamavnie*. I am not now at *Rasseneac* [pp. 17, 21], halfe drownd with mire, where you tooke me prisoner: yet then, for keeping your promise, and your good vsage, and saving my life, I so affect you, that your denials of your treacherie doth half perswade me to mistake my selfe. But if I be the marke you aime at, here I stand, shoothe hee that dare. You promised to fraught my ship ere I departed; and so you shall, or I meane to load her

with your dead carkases. Yet if as friends you wil come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you giue me the first occasion.

[1609]

Vpon this, awaie went their bowes and arrowes ; and men, women, and children brought in their commodities. But 2 or three houres they so thronged about the President, and so overwearied him, as he retired himself to rest, leaving *Master Beheathland* and *Master Powel* to accept their presents.

The Salvages dissemble their intent.

But some Salvage perceiving him fast asleepe, and the guard carelessly dispersed, 40 or 50 of their choice men [71], each with an English sword in his hand, began to enter the house; with 2 or 300 others that pressed to second them. The noise and hast[e] they made in, did so shake the house as they awoke him from his sleep ; and being halfe amazed with this suddaine sight, [he] betooke him straight to his sword and target, *Master Crashaw* and some other[s] charging in like manner, they thronged faster back, then before forward. The house thus clensed, the king and his ancients, with a long oration came to excuse this intrusion.

[p. 460]

Their excuse and reconcilement.

The rest of the day was spent with much kindnesse : the company againe renuing their presents of their best provision. And whatsoever we gaue them, they seemed well contented with it.

Now in the meane while, since our departure, this hapned at the fort.

Master Scriuener willing to crosse the surprizing of *Powhatan*, 9 daies after the Presidents departure [*i.e. on 7 January 1609*], would needs visit the Ile of hogges ; and took with him Captaine *Waldo* (though the President had appointed him to bee readie to second his occasions) with *Master Antony Gosnoll* and eight others : but so violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the boat sunke ; but where, or how, none doth knowe, for they were all drowned. Onlie this was knowne, that the Skiffe was much overloaded, and would scarse haue lived in that extreme tempest had she beene emptie : but by no perswasion could hee bee diverted, though both *Waldo* and 100 others doubted [*feared*] as it hapned.

The losse of Master Skruener and others with a Skiffe.

[1609]

The Salvages were the first that found their bodies, which so much the more encouraged them to effect their projects.

Master Wiffin his journey to the President.

[p. 461.]

To advertise the President of this heavie [72] newes, none could bee found [that] would vndertake it: but the iourney was often refused of all in the fort, vntill *Master Wiffin* vnderooke alone the performance thereof. Wherein he was encountered with many dangers and difficulties; and in all parts as hee passed, as also that night he lodged with *Powhatan*, [he] perceived such preparation for warre that assure him some mischiefe was intended: but with extraordinarie bribes and much trouble, in three daies travell, at length, he found vs [*apparently about 22 January 1609*] in the midst of these turmoiles.

This vnhappy newes, the President swore him to conceale from the rest; and so, dissembling his sorrow with the best countenance he could, when the night approached, [he] went safely abord with all his companie.

Powhatan constrained his men to be treacherous

Now so extreamely *Powhatan* had threatned the death of his men, if they did not, by some meanes, kill *Captaine Smith*, that the next day they appointed the Countrie should come to trade vnarmed: yet vnwilling to be treacherous but that they were constrained, hating fighting almost as ill as hanging; such feare they had of bad successe.

Their third attempt to betray vs.

The next morning, the sunne had not long appeared, but the fieldes appeared covered with people, and baskets to tempt vs ashore. The President determined to keepe abo[a]rd; but nothing was to bee had without his presence, nor would they not indure the sight of a gun.

Then the President, seeing many depart, and being vnwilling to lose such a booty, so well contrived the Pinnace and his barges with Ambuscadoes; as only with *Master Persie*, *Master West*, and *Master Russell* armed, he went ashore. Others vnarmed, he appointed to receiue what was brought. The Salvages flocked [73] before him in heapes, and (the bancke serving as a trench for retreat) hee drewe them faire open to his ambuscadoes.

For he not being to be perswaded to go to visit their king, the King [*Opechancanough*] came to visit him, with 2 or 300 men, in the forme of two halfe-moons, with some 20 men and many women loaded with great painted baskets. But

[1609] when they approached somewhat neare vs, their women and children fled. For when they had environed and beset the fieldes in this manner, they thought their purpose sure ; yet so trembled with fear as they were scarce able to nock their arrowes.

Smith standing with his 3 men readie bent, beholding them till they were within danger of our ambuscado ; who, vpon the word, discovered themselves, he retiring to the banke : which the Salvages no sooner perceived, but away they fled, esteeming their [p. 462] heeles for their best advantage.

That night, we sent to the fort *Master Crashaw* and *Master Foard* [evidently in one of the barges] ; who, in the midway betweene *Werawocomoco* and the fort, met 4 or 5. of the Dutch mens confederates going to *Powhatan* : the which (to excuse those gentlemens Suspition, of their running to the Salvages) returned to the fort, and there continued [p. 150].

The Salvages hearing our barge depart in the night, were so terrible afraide that we [had] sent for more men (we having so much threatned their ruine, and the rasing of their houses, boats, and canowes), that the next day the King [*Opechancanough*] sent our Captaine a chaine of pearle to alter his purpose and stay his men ; promising, though they wanted themselves, to fraught our ship, and to bring it abo[a]rd to avoid suspition : so that, 5 or 6 daies after, [74] from al parts of the countrie within 10 or 12 miles, in the extreame cold frost and snow, they brought vs provision on their naked backes.

*A chaine of
pearle sent
to obtaine
peace.*

Yet notwithstanding this kindnesse and trade, had their art and poison bin sufficient, the President with *Master West* and some others had been poysoned. It made them sick but expelled it selfe.

*The
President
Poysoned.*

Wecuttanow, a stout yong fellow, knowing hee was suspected for bringing this present of poison, with 40 or 50. of his choice companions, seeing the President with but a few men at *Pontavncat*, so prudlie braved it, as though he expected to encounter a revenge. Which the President perceiving, in the midst of his companie, did not onlie beat, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischiefe : wherevpon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter to haue so well escaped ; and the townsmen remaining

*The
offender
punished*

[1609] presentlie fraughted our barge, to bee rid of our companies, framing manie excuses to excuse *Wecuttanow*, being son to their chiefe king but *Powhatan*, and told vs if we would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliver him to vs to punish as wee pleased.

[p. 463]

Men maie thinke it strange there should be this stir for a little corne: but had it been gold with more ease wee might haue got it; and had it wanted, the whole colonie had starved. We maie be thought verie patient to indure all those iniurie. Yet onlie with fearing them, we got what they had: whereas if we had taken revenge, then by their losse, we should haue lost our selu[e]s.

We searched also the countries of *Youghtanund* and [75] *Mattapamient*, where the people imparted what little they had with such complaints and tears from women and children, as he had bin too cruell to be a Christian that would not haue bin satisfied and moved with compassion.

But had this happened in October, November, and December, when that vnhappy discoverie of *Monacan* was made; wee might haue fraughted a sh[ip] of 40 tuns, and twice as much might haue bin had from the rivers of *Toppahannock*, *Patawomeck*, and *Pawtuxunt*.

The maine occasion of our temporizing with the Salvages was to part friends, as we did, to giue the lesse cause of suspition to *Powhatan* to fly: by whom we now returned, with a purpose to haue surprised him and his provision. For effecting whereof, when we came against the towne, the President sent *Master Wiffi* and *Master Coe* a shore, to discover and make waie for his intended project.

The
Dutchmen
did much
hurt.

But they found that those damned Dutchman had caused *Powhatan* to abandon his new house and *werawocomoco*, and to carrie awaie all his corne and provision: and the people, they found, by their means, so ill affected, that had they not stood well vpon their guard, they had hardlie escaped with their liues.

So the President finding his intention thus frustrated, and that there was nothing now to be had, and therefore an vnfitt time to revenge their abuses, helde on his course for *Iames Towne*: we having in this Iornie (for 251[bs.] of copper [and] 501[bs.] of Iron and beads) kept 40 men 6. weekes [i.e., from 29 Dec. 1608 to about 8 Feb. 1609];

and dailie feasted with bread, corne, flesh, fish, and fowle. Everie man having for his reward (and in consideration of his commodities) a months provision, no trade being allowed but for the store ; and we [76] delivered at Iames Towne to the Cape Marchant, 279 bushels of corne.

[1609]

Those temporall proceedings, to some maie seeme too charitable, to such a dailie daring trecherous people ; to others vnpleasant that we washed not the ground with their blouds, nor shewed such strange inventions in mangling, murdering, ransaking, and destroying (as did the Spaniards) the simple bodies of those ignorant soules ; nor delightful, because not stuffed with relations of heaps and mines of gold and siluer, nor such rare commodities as the Portugals and Spaniards found in the East and West Indies. The want wherof hath begot vs, that were the first vndertakers, no lesse scorne and contempt, than their noble conquests and valiant aduentures (beautified with it), praise and honor. Too much, I confesse, the world cannot attribute to their ever memorable merit. And to cleare vs from the worlds blind ignorant censure, these fewe words may suffice to any reasonably vnderstanding.

It was the Spaniards good hap to happen in those parts where were infinite numbers of people, whoe had manured the ground with that providence that it afforded victuall at all times ; and time had brought them to that perfection [that] they had the vse of gold and silver, and [of] the most of such commodities as their countries affoorded : so that what the Spaniard got was only the spoile and pillage of those countrie people, and not the labours of their owne hands.

But had those fruitfull Countries beeene as Salvage, as barbarous, as ill-peopled, as little planted laboured and manured, as *Virginia*; their proper labours, it is likely would haue [77] produced as small profit as ours. But had *Virginia* bin peopled, planted, manured, and adorned with such store of pretious Iewels and rich commodities as was the Indies : then, had we not gotten and done as much as by their examples might bee expected from vs, the world might then haue traduced vs and our merits,

[A. 464]

[1609] and haue made shame and infamy our recompence and reward.

But we chanced in a lande, even as God made it. Where we found only an idle, improvident, scattered people, ignorant of the knowledge of gold, or silver, or any commodities; and carelesse of anything but from hand to mouth, but for ba[u]bles of no worth; nothing to encourage vs but what accidentally wee found nature afforded. Which ere wee could bring to recompence our paines, defray our charges, and satisfie our adventurers; we were to discover the country, subdue the people, bring them to be tractable civil and industrious, and teach them trades that the fruits of their labours might make vs recompence, or plant such colonies of our owne that must first make provision how to liue of themselues ere they can bring to perfection the commodities of the countrie: which doubtless will be as commodious for England as the west Indies for Spaine, if it be rightly managed; notwithstanding all our home-bred opinions that will argue the contrarie, as formerly such like haue done against the Spaniards and Portugals.

16465 But to conclude, against all rumor of opinion I only say this for those that the three first yeares began this plantation: notwithstanding altheirfactions, mutenies, and miseries, so gently corrected [78] and well prevented, pervse the Spanish *Decades*, the relations of *Master Hacklu[y]t*; and tell mee how many ever, with such smal meanes as a barge of 2 Tunnes, sometimes with 7. 8. 9, or but at most 15 men, did ever discover so many faire and navigable rivers, subiect so many severall kings people and nations to obedience and contribution, with so little blood shed.

And if in the search of those Countries, wee had hapned where wealth had beene, we had as surely had it, as obedience and contribution; but if wee haue overskipped it, we will not envy them that shall chance to finde it. Yet can wee not but lament it was our ill fortunes to end, when wee had but only learned how to begin, and found the right course how to proceed.

*By Richard Wiffin, William Phettiplace, and
Anas Todkill.*

CHAPTER X.

How the Salvages became subiect to the English

When the shippes departed [November, 1608], al the provision of the store but that the President had gotten, was so rotten with the last somers rain, and eaten with rats and wormes as the hogs would scarcely eat it; yet it was the souldiers diet till our returnes: so that wee found [79] nothing done, but victuall spent, and the most part of our tooles, and a good part of our armes convayed to the Salvages. [1609] [^{p. 466.}]

But now, casting vp the store [*the discovery of the rottenness &c., of the corn in the casks was later on, see p. 155*], and finding sufficient till the next harvest, the feare of starving was abandoned: and the company [being] divided into tennes, fifteenes, or as the businesse required, 4 hours each day was spent in worke, the rest in pastimes and merry exercise.

But the vntowardnesse of the greatest number caused the President to make a generall assembly; and then he advised them as followeth.

Countrimen, the long experience of our late miseries, I hope is sufficient to perswade every one to a present correction of himselfe; and thinke not that either my pains, or the adventurers purses, will ever maintaine you in idlenesse and sloth. I speake not this to you all; for diverse of you, I know, deserve both honor and reward better then is yet here to bee had; but the greater part must be more industrious, or starue. Howsoever you haue bin heretofore tolerated by the authoritie of the Councell from that I haue often commanded you: yet seeing nowe the authoritie resteth wholly in my selfe, you must obay this for a law, that he that will not worke, shall not eate, except by sickness he be disabled. For the labours of 30 or 40 honest and industrious men shall not bee consumed to maintaine 150 idle varlets. Now though you presume the authoritie here is but a shaddow, and that I dare not touch the liues of any but my own

The President's advise to the company.

[This speech was evidently made after the death of the last surviving member of the Council, Captain Winne, see p. 157. E. A.]

[1609]

must answer it ; the letters patents each week shall be read [to] you, whose contents will tell you the contrary. I would wish you therefore, without contempt, seeke to obserue these orders [80] set downe; for there are now no more Councells to protect you, nor curbe my indeauors. Therefore hee that offendeth, let him assuredly expect his due punishment.

*Hee made also a table [*notice board*] as a publike memoriall of every mans deserts, to encourage the good, and with shame to spurne on the rest to amendment. By this, many became very industrious: yet more by severe punishment performed their businesse; for all were so tasked, that there was no excuse could prevail to deceiue him.

[p. 467]

Yet the Dutchmens consorts so closely still convai[e]d powder, shot, swords, and tooles; that though we could find the defect, we could not find by whom it was occasioned, till it was too late.

The Dutchmen's plot to murder Capt. Smith

All this time, the Dutchmen remaining with *Powhatan*, received them, instructing the Salvages [in] their vse. But their consorts not following them as they expected [p. 145], to know the cause, they sent *Francis* their companion, a stout young fellow, disguised Salvage like, to the glasse-house, a place in the woods neere a myle from *James Towne*, where was the randavus for all their vnsuspected villany.

40 men, they procured of *Powhatan* to lie in Ambuscadoe for *Captaine Smith*; who no sooner heard of this Dutchman, but hee sent to apprehend him.

Who found he was gon[e]; yet to crosse his returne to *Powhatan*, *Captaine Smith* presently dispatched 20 shot after him. And then returning but from the glasse-house alone, hee incountred the King of *Paspaheigh*, a most strong stout Salvage; whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his ambush, seeing him only armed but with a fauchion, attempted to haue shot him. But the President prevented his shot [81] by grappling with him; and the Salvage as well prevented him from drawing his fauchion, and perforce bore him into the river to haue drowned him. Long they struggled in the water, from whence the king perceiving two of the Poles vpon the sandes, would haue fled: but the President held him by

Smith taketh the King of Paspaheigh prisoner

the haire and throat til the Poles came in. Then seeing howe pittifullly the poore Salvage begged his life, they conducted him prisoner to the fort.

[1609]

The Dutchman ere long was also brought in, whose villany (though all this time it was suspected), yet he fained such a formall excuse that for want of language [*i.e.*, *Dutch*], *Win* [*ne*] had not rightly vnderstood them : and for their dealings with *Powhatan*, that to saue their liues, they were constrained to accommodate [him with] his armes ; of whome he extreamely complained to haue detained them perforce, and that hee made his escape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to haue returned but only walked in the woods to gather walenuts.

Yet for all this faire tale, there was so smal appearance of truth, hee went by the heeles [*was put in irons*].

The king also he put in fetters, purposing to regaine the [p. 468.] Dutch-men, by the saving [of] his life.

The poore Salvage did his best, by his daily messengers to *Powhatan*, but all returned that the Dutchmen would not return: neither did *Powhatan* stay them ; and [to] bring them fiftie myles on their backes [*i.e.*, *overland from Orapaks*], they were not able. Daily this kings wiuess children and people came to visit him with presents, which hee liberally bestowed to make his peace. Much trust they had in the Presidents promise: but the king finding his g[u]ard negligent, though fettered yet escaped.

Captain *Win* thinking to pursue [82] him, found such troopes of Salvages to hinder his passages, as they exchanged many volies of shot for flights of arrowes.

Captaine *Smith* hearing of this, in returning to the fort, tooke two Salvages prisoners : the one called *Kemps*, the other *Kinsock*; the two most exact villaines in the countrie.

With those, Captaine *Win* and 50 chosen men attempted that night to haue regained the king, and revenged his iniurie.

And so had done, if he had followed his directions, or bin advised by those two villaines (that would haue betraied both their king and kindred for a peece of copper) ; but hee trifling away the night, the Salvages, the next morning by the rising of the sunne, braved him [to] come a shore to fight. A good time both sides let flie

[1609] at other; but wee heard of no hurt. Only they tooke two Canows, burnt the kings house; and so returned.

The President fearing those bravadoes would but incourage the Salvages, begun himself to trie his conclusions; whereby 6 or 7 Salvages were slaine, [and] as many made prisoners. [He] burnt their houses; tooke their boats with all their fishing weares, and planted them at *James Towne* for his owne vse: and now resolved not to cease till he had revenged himselfe vpon al that had iniured him.

*The
Salvages
desire peace*

[p. 469]

But in his iourney, passing by *Paspah Leigh* towards *Chickahamina*, the Salvages did their best to draw him to their ambuscadoes: but seeing him regardlesly passee their Countrey, all shewed themselves in their bravest manner, to trie their valours. He could not but let flie, and ere he could land, the Salvages no sooner knewe him, but they threw downe their armes and desired peace. Their Orator was a stout young man [83] called *Ocaninidge*; whose worthie discourse deserueth to be remembered. And this it was.

*Ocaninidge
his Oration.*

Captaine *Smith*, my master is here present in this company, thinking it Captaine *Win*, and not you; and of him, hee intended to haue beeene revenged, having never offended him. If hee haue offended you in escaping your imprisonment, the fishes swim, the fowles flie, and the very beastes striue to escape the snare and liue: then blame not him being a man. Hee would entreat you remember your being a prisoner [p. 16], what paines he tooke to saue your life. If since he hath iniured you, he was compelled to it; but, howsoever, you haue revenged it with our too great losse. We perceiue and well knowe you intend to destroy vs, that are here to intreat and desire your friendship, and to enjoy our houses and plant our fields, of whose fruit you shall participate: otherwise you will haue the worst by our absence. For we can plant any where, though with more labour; and we know you cannot liue if you want our haruest and that reliefe wee bring you. If you promise vs peace, we will beleuee you; if you proceed in reveng[e], we will abandon the Countrie.

Vpon these tearmes the President promised them peace till they did vs iniury, vpon condition they should bring in provision. So all departed good friends, and so continued till *Smith* left the Countrie.

[1609]

Ariving at *James Towne*, complaint was made to the President that the *Chickahaminos*, who al this while continued trade and seemed our friendes, by colour thereof were the only theeuers; and amongst other things, a pistol being stolne and the theefe fled, there [84] were apprehended 2 proper young fellows that were brothers, knowne to be his confederat[e]s.

A Salunge smothered at James Towne, and was recovered.

Now to regain this pistoll, the one we imprisoned; the other was sent, to returne againe within 12 houres, or his brother to be hanged. Yet the President pittyng the poore naked Salvage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some charcole for fire.

Ere midnight his brother returned with the pistoll: but the poore Salvage in the dungeon was so smothered with the smoke he had made, and so pittiously burnt that wee [p. 470] found him dead. The other most lamentably bewailed his death, and broke forth in such bitter agonies, that the President, to quiet him, told him that if hereafter they would not steal, he wo[u]ld make him aliue againe: but [he] little thought hee could be recovered. Yet we doing our best with aquavita and vineger, it pleased God to restore him againe to life: but so drunke and affrighted that he seemed lunaticke, not vnderstanding any thing hee spoke or heard; the which as much grieved and tormented the other, as before to see him dead. Of which maladie, vpon promise of their good behaviour afterward, the President promised to recover him; and so caused him to be laid by a fire to sleepe: who in the morning, hauing well slept, had recovered his perfect senses.

And then being dressed of his burning, and each a peece of copper given them; they went away so well contented, that this was spread amongst all the Salvages for a miracle, that Captaine *Smith* could make a man aliue that is dead.

These and many other such pretty accidents so amazed and affrighted both *Powhatan* and all his people, that from all parts with presents they desired peace; [85]

[1609] returning many stolne things which wee neither demaunded nor thought of. And after that, those that were taken stealing, both Powhatan and his people haue sent them backe to Iames Towne to receiue their punishment; and all the countrie became absolutely as free for vs, as for themselues.



[p. 47x]

C H A P T E R X I .

What was done in three monthes hauing victuall.

*The store devoured by rats. How we lived
3 monthes of such naturall fruits as
the countrie afforded.*

*More done
in 3 monthes
than 3
yeares.*

NOW wee so quietly followed our businesse that in 3 monthes, we made 3 or 4 last of pitch, and tarre, and sope ashes; produced a triall of glasse; made a well in the forte of excellent sweete water, which till then was wanting; built some 20 houses; re-couered our Church; provided nets and weares for fishing; and to stop the disorders of our disorderly theeues and the Salvages, built a blocke house in the necke of our Ile, kept by a garrison, to entertaine the Salvages trade, and none to passe or repasse, Salvage nor Christian, without the Presidents order; 30 or 40 acres of ground, we digged and planted; of 3 sowes, in one yeare increased 60 and od[d] pigges; and neere 500 chickens brought vp themselues, without hauing any meate giuen them: but the hogges were transported to Hog Ile, where also [86] we built a blocke house, with a garrison, to giue vs notice of any shipping; and for their exercise, they made clapbord, wainscot, and cut downe trees against the ships comming.

We built also a fort for a retreat, neare a convenient river, vpon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assaulted, and easie to be defended: but ere it was halfe finished, this defect caused a stay.

In searching our casked corne, wee found it halfe rotten:

and the rest so consumed with the many thousand rats, increased first from the ships, that we knewe not how to keepe that little wee had. This did drie vs all to our wits ende; for there was nothing in the countrie but what nature afforded.

[1609]

Vntill this time *Kemps* and *Tassore* were fettered prisoners, and daily wrought; and taught vs how to order and plant our fields: whom now, for want of victuall, we set at libertie; but so wel were they vsed, that they little desired it.

And to express their loues, for 16 daies continuance, [p. 472.] the Country brought vs (when least) 100 a daie of squirrels, Turkies, Deare, and other wilde beastes. But this want of corne occasioned the end of all our workes, it being worke sufficient to provide victuall.

60 or 80 with Ensigne *Laxon* were sent downe the river to liue vpon oysters: and 20 with leiftenant *Percie* to trie for fishing at point Comfort, but in 6 weekes, they would not agree once to cast out their net. *Master West*, with as many, went vp to the falles; but nothing could bee found but a fewe berries and acornes. Of that in the store, every one had their equall proportion.

Till this present, by the hazard and endeavour of some 30 or 40, this whole number had ever been fed. Wee had more Sturgeon then [87] could be devoured by dogge and man; of which, the industrious by drying and pownding, mingled with caviare, sorrel and other wholsome hearbs, would make bread and good meate. Others would gather as much *Tockwough* roots in a day as would make them bread a weeke. So that of those wilde fruities, fish, and berries these lived very well, in regard of such a diet.

*The paines
of 40 fed
150.*

But such was the most strange condition of some 150, that had they not beene forced nolens volens perforce to gather and prepare their victuall, they would all haue starved, and haue eaten one another. Of those wild fruities, the Salvages often brought vs: and for that the President would not fulfill the vnreasonable desire of those distracted lubberly gluttons, to sell not only our kettles, howes, tooles, and Iron, nay swords, peeces, and the very ordeneance and houses (might they haue preuailed but to haue beene but idle) for those salvage fruits, they would haue imparted all to the Salvages.

[1609]

*Their desire
to destroy
themselves*

Especially for one basket of corne they heard of to bee at Powhatans, 50 myles from our fort: though he bought neere halfe of it to satisfie their humours; yet to haue had the other halfe, they would haue sold their soules, though not sufficient to haue kept them a weeke. Thousands were their exclamations, suggestions, and devises to force him to those base inventions, to haue made it an occasion to abandon the Countrie.

[p. 473]

Want perforce constrained him to indure their exclaiming follies, till he found out the author, one Dyer [p. 168], a most craftie knaue, and his ancient maligner; whom he worthely punished: and with the rest, he argued the case, in this manner, [88]

*The
President's
speech to the
drones.*

Fellow souldiers, I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many so simple to be perswaded, that I either intend to starue you; or that Powhatan at this present hath corne for himselfe, much lesse for you; or that I would not haue it, if I knewe where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any so malitious as nowe I see a great many: yet it shall not so much passionate me, but I will doe my best for my worst maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from Powhatan; nor that I wil longer forbeare to force you from your Idlenesse, and punish you if you raile. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life, many a time I haue sauied yours; when (might your owne wils haue prevailed) you would haue starved, and will doe still whether I will or no. But I protest by that God that made me, since necessitie hath not power to force you to gather for your selu[e]s those fruits the earth doth yeeld; you shall not only gather for your selues, but for those that are sicke. As yet I never had more from the store then the worst of you, and all my English extraordinarie provision that I haue [*i.e.*, his private stock], you shall see mee devide among the sick.

And this Salvage trash you so scornfully repine at, being put in your mouthes, your stomachs can digest it; and therefore I will take a course you shall provide it. The sicke shal not starue, but equally share of all our labours; and every one that

gathereth not every day as much as I doe, the next daie, shall be set beyond the river, and for ever bee banished from the fort: and liue there or starue.

[1609]

This order, many murmured, was very cruell. But it caused the most part so well [to] bestir themselues that [89] of 200 men (except they were drowned), there died not <sup>But 7 of 200
died in 9
months</sup> past 7 or 8.

As for Captaine *Win* and Master *Ley*, they died ere this [^{p 474}] want happened: and the rest died not for want of such as preserued the rest.

Many were billitted among the Salvages, whereby we knewe all their passages, fieldes, and habitations; how to gather and vse their fruits as well as themselues.

So well those poore Salvages vsed vs, that were thus Billited, as divers of the souldiers ran away, to search *Kemps* our old prisoner. Glad was this Salvage to haue such an occasion to testifie his loue, for instead of enter-taining them and such things as they had stolne, with all the great offers and promises they made them (to revenge their iniuries vpon Captaine *Smith*): First, he made him-selfe sport, in shewing his countrymen, by them, how he was vsed; feeding them with this law, who would not worke must not eat, till they were neere starved; continuallie threatning to beate them to death. Neither could they get from him, til perforce he brought them to our Captaine, that so we contented him, and punished them; as manie others that intended also to haue followed them, were rather contented to labour at home then adventure to liue Idle among the Salvages: of whom there was more hope to make better christians and good subiects, then the one halfe of those that counterfeited themselues both.

The
Salvages
returne our
fugitives.

For so afeard were all those kings and the better sorte of their people to displease vs, that some of the baser sort that we haue extreamelie hurt and punished for their vil-lanies, would hire vs, that we should not tell it to their kings or countrymen, who would also repunish [90] them, and yet returne them to Iames Towne to content the President, by that testimonie of their loues.

[1609]

Lp 475.1

Search for
them sent by
Sir Walter
Rawley.

Master Sicklemore well returned from Chawonock, but found little hope and lesse certainetie of them [that] were left by Sir Walter Rawley [in 1587]. So that Nathaniell Powell and Anas Todkill were also, by the Quiyough-quohanocks, conducted to the Mangoages to search them there. But nothing could we [evidently Powell and Todkill are the writers of this part of this Work] learne but they were all dead.

This honest, proper, good promis[e]-keeping king, of all the rest, did euer best affect vs, and though to his false Gods he was yet very zealous; yet he would confesse, our God as much exceeded his, as our guns did his bowe and arrowes: often sending our President manie presents to prae to his God for raine, or his corne would perish; for his Gods were angrie all this time.

To reclaime the Dutchmen, and one Bentley an other fugitiue, we imploied one William Volda (a Switzer by birth), with pardons and promises to regaine them. Li[t]tle we then suspected this double villanie of anie villain, who plainly taught vs, in the most trust was the greatest treason. For this wicked hypocrit[e], by the seeming hate he bore to the lewd condition of his cursed countrinem, hauing this opportunitie, by his imploiment to regaine them, conveighed them everie thing they desired to effect their project to destroie the colonie.

The
Dutchmens
proiects.

With much devotion they expected the Spanyard, to whom they intended to haue done good service. But to begin with the first op[p]ortunitie, they seeing necessitie thus inforced vs to disperse our selues, importuned Powhatan to lend them but his forces, and they would not onlie destroie our hogs, fire our towne, and betraie [91] our Pinnas: but bring to his service and subiection the most part of our companies. With this plot they had acquainted manie discontents [*discontented*]; and manie were agreed to their divelish practise. But Thomas Douese and Thomas Mallard, whose christian harts much relenting at such an vnchristian act, voluntarily reuealed it to Captaine Smith: who did his best it might be concealed, perswading Douese and Malard to proceed in the confederacie, onlie to bring the irrecla[i]mable Dutch men and inconstant Sal-

Lp 476.1

vages in such a maner amongst his ambuscadoes as he had prepared, as not manie of them shoulde ever haue returned from out [of] our peni[n]sula.

[1609]

But this bru[i]te comming to the ears of the impatient multitude, they so importuned the President to cut of[f] those Dutchmen, as amongst manie that offered to cut their throates before the face of *Powhatan*, *Master Wiffin* and *Iefra Ab[b]ot* were sent to stab or shoot them.

Two gentle
men sent
kill them
[p. 508.]

But these Dutch men made such excuses, accusing *Volday* (whom they supposed had revealed their project), as *Abbot* would not; yet *Wiffin* would, perceiving it but deceipt.

The king vnderstanding of this their imployement, sent presentlie his messengers to Captaine *Smith* to signifie it was not his fault to detaine them, nor hinder his men from executing his command; nor did he, nor would he maintaine them or anie, to occasion his displeasure.

But ere this busines was brought to a point, God having seene our misery sufficient, sent in Captaine *Argall* to fish for Sturgion, with a ship well furnished with wine and bisket; which, though it was not sent vs, such were our occasions we tooke it at a price: but left him sufficient to [92] returne for England. Still dissembling *Valdo* his villany; but certainlie hee had not escaped, had the President continued.

By this you may see, for all those crosses, treacheries, and dissensions; howe he wrastled and overcame (without bloud shed) all that hapned: also what good was done, how few died, what food the country naturally affordeth; what small cause there is men should starue, or be murdered by the Salvages, that haue discretion to manage this [their] courage and industry.

[p. 477.]
Note these
incon-
veniences.

The 2. first years though by his adventures he had oft brought the Salvages to a tractable trade, yet you see how the envious authority ever crossed him, and frustrated his best endeavours. Yet this wrought in him that experience and estimation among the Salvages, as otherwaies it had bin impossible he had ever effected that he did.

Though the many miserable yet generous and worthy adventures he had long and oft indured as wel in some

[1609]

parts of *Africa* and *America*, as in the most partes of *Europe* and *Asia*, by land or sea, had taught him much: yet, in this case, he was againe to learne his Lecture by experience; which with thus much a doe having obtained, it was his ill chance to end when hee had but onlie learned how to begin.

[A. 478]

And though hee left these vnknowne difficulties (made easie and familiar) to his vnlawfull successors; whoe onlie by living in Iames Towne, presumed to know more then al the world could direct them; though they had all his souldiers, with their triple power, and twise triple better meanes: by what they haue done in his absence, the world doth see; and what they would haue done in his [93] presence, had he not prevented their indiscretions—it doth iustlie approue what cause he had to send them for England.

But they haue made it more plaine since their returne: having his absolute authoritie freely in their power, with all the advantages and opportunity that his labours had effected. As I [? A. Todkill] am sorry their actions haue made it so manifest, so am I vnwilling to say what reason doth compell me to make apparant the truth, least I should seeme partial, reasonlesse, or malitious.





CHAPTER XII.

p. 470.]

The Ar[r]ival of the third supply.

O redresse those iarres and ill proceedings, the Councell in England altered the governement: and devolved the authoritie to the Lord *De-la-ware*. Who for his deputie, sent Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers.

[1609]

*The alteration
of the
governement.*

With 9 ships and 500 persons, they set saile from England in May 1609. A small catch perished at sea in a *Herycano*. The Admiral [flagship], with 150 men, with the two knights and their new commission, their bils of loading with al manner of directions, and the most part of their provision, ar[r]ived not. With the other 7, as Captaines, ar[r]ived *Rat[c]liffe* (whose right name was *Sickelmore*), *Martin*, and *Archer*: who as they had been troublesome at sea, beganne againe to marre all ashore.

[p. 479.]

For though, as is said [pp. 105, 107, 408, 411, 444], they were formerly deposed and sent for England: yet now [94] returning againe, graced by the title of *Captaines of the passengers*, seeing the admirall [flagship] wanting, and great probabilitie of her losse, strength[e]ned themselues with those newe companies, so railing and exclaiming [to them] against Captaine *Smith*, that they mortally hated him ere ever they see his face.

*The loss of
Virginia.*

[pp. xciv,
xcviii.]

Who vnderstanding by his scouts, the ar[r]ivall of such a fleet, little dreaming of any such supply, supposing them Spaniards, hee so determined and ordered his affaires as wee little feared their ar[r]ivall, nor the successe of our

[1609]

incounter: nor were the Salvages any way negligent or vnwilling to aide and assist vs with their best power.

*The
Salvages
offer to
fight under
our coulors.*

Mutine.

[p. 480.]

Had it so beene, wee had beene happy. For we would not haue trus[t]ed them but as our foes; whereas receiving those as our countriemen and friends, they did their best to murder our President [p. 166], to surprise the store, the fort, and our lodgings; to vsurp the governement, and make vs all their servants, and slaues to our owne merit.

To 1000 mischieves these lewd Captaines [*Ratcliffe, &c.*] led this lewd company, wherein were many vnruly gallants packed thether by their friends to escape il destinies: and those would dispose and determine of the governement, sometimes one [way], the next day another, to day the old commission, to morrow the new, the next day by neither. In fine, they would rule all or ruine all. Yet in charitie, we must endure them thus to destroy vs; or by correcting their follies, haue brought the worlds censure vpon vs, to haue beene guiltie of their bloods. Happy had we bin had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned and (as we were) left to our fortunes: for on earth was never more confusion or miserie then their factions occasioned. [95]

The President seeing the desire those braues had to rule, seeing how his authoritie was so vnexpectedly changed, would willingly haue left all and haue returned for England: but seeing there was smal hope this newe commision would ar[r]ive, longer hee would not suffer those factious spirits to proceed.

It would bee too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible, should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practises hee daily escaped amongst this factious crue; the chiefe whereof he quickly laid by the heeles, til his leisure better served to doe them iustice. And to take away al occasions of further mischiefe, *Master Persie* had his request granted, to returne for England: and *Master West* with 120 went to plant at the falles; *Martin* with neare as many to *Nansamund*; with their due proportions of all provisions, according to their numbers.

[p. 481.]
*The plant-
ing of Nansamund
A plan-
ting at the
falles.*

Now the Presidents yeare being neere expired, he made *Martin* President: who knowing his own insufficiencie; and the companies scorne, and conceit of his vnworthiness;

within 3 houres, [he] resigned it againe to Captane Smith : [1609]
and at Nansamund thus proceeded.

The people being contributers vsed him kindly. Yet such was his iealous feare and cowardize, in the midst of his mirth, hee did surprize this poore naked king, with his monuments, houses, and the Ile he inhabited ; and there fortified himselfe, but so apparantly distracted with fear as imboldned the Salvages to assa[u]lt him, kill his men, redeeme their king, gather and carrie away more then 1000 bushels of corne, hee not once daring to intercept them : but sent to the President, then at the Falles, for 30 good shotte, which from *Iames* [96] towne immediat[e]ly were sent him. But hee so well imploid them, as they did iust nothing ; but returned, complaining of his childishnesse, that with them fled from his company [*the 120*], and so left them to their fortunes.

*The breach
of peace
with the
Salvages.*

Master West hauing seated his men at the Falles, presently returned to revisit *Iames* Towne. The President met him by the way, as he followed him to the falles : where he found this company so inconsiderately seated in a place, not only subiect to the rivers invndation, but round environed with many intollerable inconveniences.

For remedy whereof, he sent presently to *Powhatan*, to sell him the place called *Powhatan*, promising to defend him against the *Monacans*, and these should be his conditions.

*Powhatan
sold for
copper.*

[He] with his people, to resigne him the fort and houses and all that countrie for a proportion of copper. That all stealing offenders should bee sent him, there to receiue their punishment. That every house as a custome should pay him a bushell of corne for an inch square of copper, and a proportion of *Pocones* as a yearely tribute to King *Iames* for their protection, as a dutie : what else they could spare, to barter at their best discretion.

[p. 482.]

But both this excellent place and those good conditions did those furies refuse, contemning both him, his kind care, and authoritie. The worst they could to shew their spite, they did. I doe more then wonder to thinke how only with 5 men, he either durst, or would adventure as he did (knowing how greedy they were of his blood) to land

Mutinies

*5 supprese
120.*

[1609] amongst them, and commit to imprisonment the greatest spirits amongst them, till by their multitudes, being 120, they forced him to retire. [97] Yet in that retreat, hee surprised one of the boates, wherewith hee returned to their shippe wherein was their provisions, which also hee tooke. And well it chaunced hee found the marriners so tractable and constant, or there had beene small possibility he had ever escaped.

Notwithstanding there were many of the best, I meane of the most worthy in Iudgement, reason, or experience, that from their first landing, hearing the generall good report of his old souldiers, and seeing with their eies his actions so wel managed with discretion (as Captaine *Wood*, Captaine *Web*, Captaine *Mone*, Captaine *Phitz-James*, Master *Partridge*, Master *White*, Master *Powell*, and divers others) : when they perceived the malice and condition of *Rat[c]liffe*, *Martin*, and *Archer*, left their factions, and ever rested his faithfull friends.

*The breach
of peace
with the
Salvages at
the Falls.*

[p. 483]

But the worst was, the poore Salvages that dailie brought in their contribution to the President. That disorderlie company so tormented those poore naked soules, by stealing their corne, robbing their gardens, beating them, breaking their houses, and keeping some prisoners, that they dailie complained to Captaine *Smith* he had brought them for protectors worse enimies then the *Monocans* themselues: which though till then, for his loue, they had indured, they desired pardon, if hereafter they defended themselues, since he would not correct them, as they had long expected he would. So much they importuned him to punish their misdemeanours, as they offered, if hee would conduct them, to fight for him against them.

But having spent 9. daies [Aug.-Sept. 1609] in seeking to reclaime them, shewing them how much they did abuse themselues [98] with their great guilded hopes of seas, mines, commodities, or victories they so madly concieued; then, seing nothing would prevaile with them, he set saile for *James Towne*.

*An assault
by the
Salvages.*

Now no sooner was the ship vnder saile, but the Salvages assaulted those 120 in their fort, finding some strageling abroad in the woods, they slew manie; and so afflighted

the rest as their prisoners escaped, and they scarse retired, with the swords and cloaks of these they had slaine.

[1609]

But ere we [*Pots and Phettiplace were evidently with Smith here*] had sailed a league, our shippe grounding, gaue vs once more libertie to summon them to a parlie. Where we found them all so strangelie amazed with this poore simple assault as they submitted themselues vpon anie tearmes to the Presidents mercie : who presentlie put by the heeles 6 or 7 of the chiefe offenders.

The rest he seated gallantlie at *Powhatan* in their Salvage fort, [which] they [*the Savages had*] built and pretilie fortified with poles and barkes of trees sufficient to haue defended them from all the Salvages in *Virginia*, drie houses for lodgings, 300 acres of grounde readie to plant; and no place so strong, so pleasant and delightful in *Virginia*, for which we called it Nonsuch.

The Salvages also he presentlie appeased, redelivering to every one their former losses.

*The
planting of
Nonsuch*

*New peace
concluded.*

Thus al were friends, new officers appointed to command, and the President againe readie to depart.

I. 484

But at that instant arrived *Master West*, whose good nature, with the perswasions [of] and compassion of [for] those mutinous prisoners, was so much abused, that to regaine their old hopes, new turboiles arose. For the rest, being possessed of al their victuall, ammunition and everie thing; they grow to that height in their former factions, as there the President [99] left them to their fortunes : they returning againe to the open aire at *West Fort*, abandoning Nonsuch ; and he to *James Towne* with his best expedition.

But this hapned him in that Iournie [*about the beginning of September 1609*]. Sleeping in his boat, for the ship was retuined 2 daies before, accidentallie one fired his powder bag ; which tore his flesh from his bodie and thighes 9. or 10. inches square, in a most pittifull manner : but to quench the tormenting fire, frying him in his cloath[e]s, he leaped over board into the deepe river, where ere they could recover him, he was neere drown[e]d. In this estat[e], without either Chirurgeon or chirurgery, he was to go neare 100. miles [*the distance by water from Powhatan to James Town*].

*C. Smith
blowne up
with
powder.*

Ar[r]iving at *James Towne*, causing all things to bee prepared for peace or warres, [and] to obtain provision.

[1609]

A bloody intent.
Whilst those things were providing, *Martin*, *Ratcliffe*, and *Archer* being to haue their trials, their guiltie consciences fearing a iust reward for their deserts, seeing the President vnable to stand, and neare bereft of his senses by reason of his torment; they had plotted to haue murdered him in his bed. But his h[e]art did faile him [*Coe or Dyer*, see p. 168], that should haue given fire to that merclesse pistol.

So, not finding that course to be the best, they ioined togither to vsurp the governement, thereby to escape their punishment, and excuse themselues by accusing him.

The President had notice of their proiects, the which to withstand, though his old souldiers importuned him but [to] permit them to take off their heads that would resist his commaund; yet he would not permit them: but sent for the masters of the ships, and tooke order with them, for his retурne for England.

*The
governement
vsurped.
[p. 485.]*

Seeing there was neither chirurgeon nor chirurgery [100] in the fort to cure his hurt, and the ships to depart the next daie; his commission to be suppressed, he knew not why; himselfe and souldiers to be rewarded, he knew not how; and a new commission graunted, they knew not to whom, the which so disabled that authority he had, as made them presume so oft to those mutinies and factions as they did. Besides so grievous were his wounds and so cruell his torment [that] few expected he could liue; nor was hee able to follow his businesse, to regaine what they had lost, suppresse those factions, and range the countries for provision as he intended, and well he knew in those affaires his own actions and presence were as requisit[e] as his experience and directions, which now could not be: he went presently abo[a]rd, resolving there to appoint them governours, and to take order for the mutine[e]rs and their confederates. Who seeing him gone, perswaded *Master Persie* to stay, and be their President: and within lesse then an howre was this mutation begun and concluded.

[The only
legal mem-
ber of the
Council at
this time
was Smith.
It was a
revolt
against
Law.

For when the company vnderstood *Smith* would leaue them, and see the rest in Armes called Presidents and councellors; diuers began to fawne on those new commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him [to] resigne them his commission. Who, after many salt and

bitter repulses, that their confusion should not be attributed to him (for leaving the country without government and authority), having taken order to bee free from danger of their malice, he was not vnwilling they should steale it from him, but never consented to deliver it to any.

But had that vnhappy blast not hapned, he would quickly haue qualified the heate of [101] those humors and factions, had the ships but once left them and vs to our fortunes; and haue made that provision from among the Salvages as we neither feared Spanyard, Salvage, nor famine: nor would have left *Virginia*, nor our lawfull authoritie, but at as deare a price as we had bought it, and paid for it.

What shall I say? but thus we lost him that, in all his proceedings, made Iustice his first guid[e], and experience his second; ever hating basenesse, sloth, pride, and indignitie more then any dangers; that never allowed more for himselfe then his souldiers with him; that vpon no danger, would send them where he would not lead them himselfe; that would never see us want what he either had, or could by any meanes get vs; that would rather want then borrow, or starue then not pay; that loved actions more than wordes, and hated falsehood and couse[n]age worse then death; whose adventures were our liues, and whose losse our deathes.

Leaving vs [4 Oct. 1609] thus, with 3 ships, 7 boates, commodities ready to trade, the harvest newly gathered, 10 weekes provision in the store, 490 and odde persons, 24 peeces of ordinances, 300 muskets snapanches and fire lockes, shot powder and match sufficient; curats, pikes, swords, and moryons more then men; the Salvages their language and habitations wel knowne to 100 well trained and expert souldiers, nets for fishing, tooles of all sortes to worke, apparell to supply our wants, 6 mares and a horse, 5 or 600 swine, as many hens and chicken, some goates, some shcep. What was brought or bread there remained.

But they regarded nothing but from hand to mouth, to consume that we had. [They] tocke care for nothing [102], but to perfitt some colourable complaints against Captaine Smith. For effecting whereof, 3 weekes longer [*i.e.*, 13 Sept. to 4 Oct. 1609, see p. xcvi], they stayed the 6 ships till they

[1609]
*The causes
why Smith
left the
countrie
and his
Commis-
sion.*

[p. 486]

[1609] could produce them. That time and charge might much better haue beeene spent; but it su[1]ted well with the rest of their discreations.

Their complaints and provee against him. Now all those *Smith* had either whipped, punished, or any way disgraced, had free power and liberty to say or sweare any thing; and from a whole armefull of their examinations this was concluded.

The mutine[er]s at the Falles complained he caused the Salvages [to] assa[u]lt them, for that hee would not revenge their losse (they being but 120, and he 5 men and himselfe): and this they proved by the oath of one hee had oft whipped for periurie and pilfering.

The dutchmen that he had appointed to bee stab[be]d for their treacheries, swore he sent to poison them with rats baine.

The prudent Council that he would not submit himselfe to their stolne authoritie. *Coe* [*p.* 146] and *Dyer* [*pp.* 156, 472] that should haue murdered him [*p.* 166], were highly preferred for swearing they heard one say, he heard *Powhatan* say, that he heard a man say, if the king would not send that corne he had [*p.* 156], he should not long enjoy his copper crowne, nor those robes he had sent him: yet those also swore hee might haue had corne for tooles but [he] would not. (The truth was, *Smith* had no such ingins as the King demanded, nor *Powhatan* any corne. Yet this argued he would starue them.)

Others complained hee would not let them rest in the fort (to starue), but forced them to the oyster banks, to liue or starue (as he liued himselfe). For though hee had of his owne private prouisions [103] sent from England, sufficient; yet hee gaue it all away to the weake and sick: causing the most vtoward (by doing as he did) to gather their food from the vñknowne parts of the rivers and woods, that they lived (though hardly), that otherwaies would haue starved ere they would haue left their beds, or at most the sight of *Iames Towne*, to haue got their own victuall.

Some propheticall spirit calculated [that] hee had the Salvages in such subiection, hee would haue

made himselfe a king, by marrying *Pocahontas*, *Powhatans* daughter. (It is true she was the very Nomparell of his kingdome, and at most not past 13 or 14 yeares of age. Very oft shee came to our fort, with what shee could get for Captaine Smith; that ever loued and vsed all the Countrie well, but her especially he ever much respected: and she so well requited it, that when her father intended to haue surprized him, shee by stealth in the darke night came through the wild woods and told him of it [p. 455]. But her marriage could no way haue intitled him by any right to the kingdome, nor was it ever suspected hee had ever such a thought; or more regarded her, or any of them, than in honest reason and discretion he might. If he would, he might haue married her, or haue done what him listed; for there was none that could haue hindred his determination.)

[1609]
Pocahontas
Powhatans
daughter
[p. cxv]

Some that knewe not any thing to say, the Council instructed and advised what to sweare. So diligent they were in this businesse, that what any could remember hee had ever done or said in mirth, or passion, by some circumstantiall oath it was applied to their fittest vse. Yet not past 8 or 9 could say much, and that nothing but circumstances which [104] all men did knowe was most false and vntrue.

Many got their passes by promising in England to say much against him.

I haue presumed to say this much in his behalfe, for that I never heard such foule slanders so certainlye beleued and vrged for truthes by many a hundred that doe still [1612] not spare to spread them, say them, and sweare them; that I thinke doe scarce know him though they meet him: nor haue they e[1]ther cause or reason but their wills, or zeale to rumor or opinion.

For the honorable and better sort of our Virginian adventurers, I think they vnderstand it as I haue writ it. For instead of accusing him, I haue never heard any giue him a better report, then many of those witnesses themselues that were sent home only to testifie against him.

Richard Pots, VV. P[hettiplace]

[1609-10]  Hen the ships departed [about 4 Oct. 1609],
The planting at point Comfort.
 C[captain] Davis arived in a smal Pinnace with
 some 16 proper men more: to those were
 added a company from *Iames Towne* vnder the
 command of Captaine *Rat[c]liffe*, to inhabit Point comfort.
 [p. 497]

Martin and Master West hauing lost their boates, and
 neere halfe their men amongst the Salvages, were returned
 to *Iames Towne*; for the Salvages no sooner vnderstood of
 Captaine Smiths losse, but they all revolted, and did murder
 and spoile all they could incouter.

[p. 498.] Now were we all constrained to liue only of that which
 Smith had only for his owne company, for the rest had
 consumed their proportions. And now haue we 20 Presidents
 with all their appurtenances; for Master Persie was
 so sicke he could not goe nor stand.

Rat[c]liffe slain by Powhatan
 But ere all was consumed, Master West and *Rat[c]liffe*,
 each with a pinnace, and 30 or 40 men wel appointed,
 sought abroad to trade: how they carried the businesse
 I knowe not, but *Rat[c]liffe* and his men were most[ly]
 slaine by *Powhatan*; those that escaped returned neare
 starved in the Pinnace. And Master West finding little
 better successe, set saile for England.

Now wee all found the want of Captaine *Smith*, yea
 his greatest maligners could then curse his losse. Now
 for corne, provision, and contribution from the Salvages;
 wee had nothing but mortal wounds with clubs and
 arrowes. As for our hogs, hens, goats, sheep, horse, or
 what lived; our commanders and officers did daily con-
 sume them: some small proportions (sometimes) we tasted,
 till all was devoured. Then swords, arrowes, peeces, or
 any thing we traded to the Salvages; whose bloody fingers
 were so imbruied in our bloods, that what by their crueltie,
 our Governours indiscretion, and the losse of our ships;
 of 500, within 6 months after [Oct. 1609—May 1610] there
 remained not many more then 60. most miserable and
 poore creatures. It were to[o] vild to say what we
 endured: but the occasion was only our owne, for want of
 providence, industrie, and governement; and not the bar-
 rennesse and defect of the countrie, as is generally sup-

posed. For till then, in 3 yeares (for the numbers were landed [to] vs) we had never landed sufficient provision for 6 months: such a glutton is the sea, and such good fellowes the marriners, wee as little tasted of those great proportions for their provisions, as they of our miseries; that notwithstanding euer swaid and overruled the businesse. Though we did liue as is said, 3 yeares chiefly of what this good countrie naturally affordeth: yet now had we bee[n]e in Paradice it selfe (with those governours) it would not haue bee[n]e much better with vs: yet was there some amongst vs, who had they had the governement, would surely haue kept vs from those extremities of miseries, that in 10 daies more would haue supplanted vs all by death.

But God that would not it should bee vnp[un]planted, sent Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Sommers, with a 150 men, most happily perserved by the *Ber[m]ondo*es to preserue vs. Strange it is to say how miraculously they were preserved, in a leaking ship, in those extreme stormes and tempests [pp. 499, 635.] in such overgrowne seas 3 daies and 3 nights by bayling out water. And having given themselv[e]s to death, how happily when least expected, that worthy Captaine Sir George Somers having l[a]ine all that time cuning [steering] the ship before those swa[l]lowing waues, discouered those broken Iles: where how plentifully they lived with fish and flesh, what a paradice this is to inhabit, what industrie they vsed to build their 2 ships, how happily they did transport them to Iames Towne in *Virginia* [where they arrived on 23 May 1610], I refer you to their owne printed relations.

But when those noble knights did see our miseries (being strangers to the country) and could vnderstand no more of the cause but by their coniecture of our clamors and complaints, of accusing or excusing one an other: they imbarked vs with themselues, with the best means they could, and abandoning *Iames Towne*, set saile for England.

But yet God would not so haue it, for ere wee left the river; we met the *Lord de-la-ware*, then governour for the countrie, with 3 ships exceeding well furnished with al neces-saries fitting: who againe returned them to the abandoned *Iames Towne*, the 9 of June, 1610. accompanied with Sir *Ferdinando Wainman*, and divers other gentlemen of sort.

Sir George Somers and Captaine Argall he presentlie

*The fruits
of improvi-
dence.*

*The arrivall
of Sir
Thomas
Gates
with 150.*

[pp. 499, 635.]

*James
Towne
abandoned.*

*The arrival
of Lord
La-ware.*

[p. 500.]

[1610-11] dispatcheth to require the *Bermondas* to furnish them with provision : Sir *Thomas Gates* for England to helpe forward their supplies ; himselfe neglected not the best [that] was in his power for the furtherance of the busines and regaining what was lost. But even in the beginning of his proceedings, his Lordship had such an encounter with a scury sicknesse, that made him vnable to w[i]eld the state of his bodie, much lesse the affaires of the colonie [p. 505], so that after 8. monthes sicknesse, he was forced to saue his life by his returne for England.

*2 Ships sent
to the
Bermondas.*

[p. 503.]

In this time *Argall* not finding the *Bermondas*, having lost Sir *George Somers* at sea, fell on the coast of *Sagadahock*; where refreshing himselfe, [he] found a convenient fishing for Cod. With a tast[e] whereof, hee returned to *Iames towne*, from whence the Lord *De-la-ware* sent him to trade in the river of *Patawomecke*. Where finding an English boy [*Henry Spelman*, see pp. ci-cxiv, 498, 503, 528, 586, 606] those people had preserved from the furie of *Powhatan*, by his acquaintance, [he] had such good vsage of those kind Salvages, that they fraughted his ship with corne; wherewith he returned to *Iames Towne*: and so for England, with the Lord *Governour*.

*The arival
of Sir
Thomas
Dale.*

Yet before his returne, the adventurers had sent Sir *Thomas Dale* with 3 ships, men and cattell, and all other provisions necessarie for a yeare: all which arived the 10 of May, 1611.

Againe, to second him with all possible expedition, there was prepared for Sir *Thomas Gates*, 6 tall ships with 300 men, and 100 kyne, with other cattell, with munition and all manner of provision [that] could bee thought needfull, and they arived about the 1 of August next after, safely at *Iames towne*.

*Sir George
Somers
arival
at the
Bermondas,
and dieth.*

Sir *George Somers* all this time was supposed [to be] lost: but thus it hapned. Missing the *Bermondas*, hee fell also, as did *Argall*, with *Sagadahock*: where being refreshed, [he] would not content himselfe with that repulse, but returned againe in the search; and there safely arived. But overtoiling himselfe, on a surfeit died [on 9 Nov. 1611].

And this Cedar ship built by his owne directions, and partly with his owne hands, that had not in her any iron but only one bolt in her keele, yet well endured thus tossed

to and againe in this mightie Ocean, til with his dead [1611-12] bo[die] she arived in England at line [last]: and at Whitchurch in Dorsetshire, his body by his friends was honourably buried, with many volies of shot, and the 11ights of a souldier.

And vpon his Tombe was bestowed this Epitaph

[p. 640]

Hei mihi Virginia, quod tam cito præterit æstas,

Autumnus sequitur, sæunct inde et hyems.

his
Epitaph.

At ver perpetuum nasctur, et Anglia lata,

Decerpit flores, Floryda terra tuos.

Alas Virginia Somer so soone past,

Autume succeeds and stormy winters blast,

Yet Englands joyfull sping with Apill shewres,

O Floryda, shall bring thy sweetest flowers.

Since, there was a ship fraughted with provision and 40 men, and another since then, with the like number and provision, to stay in the Countrie 12 months with Captaine Argall.

The Lord governour himselfe doth confidently determine to goe with the next, or as presently as he may, in his owne person, with sundry other knights and gentlemen, with ships and men so farre as their meanes will extend to furnish.

As for all their particular actions since the returne of Captaine Smith; for that they haue beene printed from time to time, and published to the world, I cease farther to trouble you with any repetition of things so well knowne, more then are necessarie.

To conclude the historie, leauing this assurance to all posteritie, howe vnprosperously things may succeed, by what changes or chances soever; the action is honorable and worthie to bee approved, the defect whereof hath only beene in the managing the businesse: which I hope now experience hath taught them to amend, or those examples may make others to beware, for the land is as good as this booke doth report it.



Aptaine Smith I returne you the fruit of my labours, as *Master Croshaw [that is Rawlegh Crashaw, pp. 129, 131, 139, 143, 145, 184, &c.]* requested me, which I bestowed in reading the discourses, and hearing the relations of such which haue walked and observed the land of *Virginia* with you. The pains I took was great: yet did the nature of the argument, and hopes I conceaued of the expedition, giue me exceeding content. I cannot finde there is any thing, but what they all affirme, or cannot contradict: the land is good: as there is no citties, so no sonnes of *Anak*: al is open for labor of a good and wise inhabitant: and my prayer shall ever be, that so faire a land, may bee inhabited by those that professe and loue the Gospell.

Your friend

VV. S.



A
DESCRIPTION
of *New England*:
O R

THE OBSERVATIONS, AND
discoueries, of Captain *John Smith* (Admirall
of that Country) in the North of *America*, in the year
of our Lord 1614: with the successe of sixe Ships,
that went the next yeare 1615; and the
accidents besell him among the
French men of warre:

With the prooфе of the present benefit this
Countrey affords; whither this present yeare,
1616, eight voluntary Ships are gone
to make further tryall.



At LONDON
Printed by *Humfrey Lownes*, for *Robert Clerke*; and
are to be sould at his house called the Lodge,
in Chancery lane, ouer against Lin-
colnes Inne. 1616

[This Work was, in substance, first addressed to the Privy Council, by Captain SMITH, in August–October 1615, while a prisoner on board the French pirate ship, under the command of Monsieur POYRUNE, p. 739, off the Azores : “where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this discourse ; thinking to haue sent it [to] you of his Maiesties Councell, by some ship or other,” pp. 224, 736. He must therefore have carried the manuscript with him, in his escape in the November following, in the open boat at Ile de Ré, pp. 226, 738.

He completed it the next year, and it was thus entered for publication at Stationers’ Hall, London :

3° Junij 1616

Robert Clerke. Entied for his Copie vnder the handes of master SANFORD and Master Lownes Warden a booke called *A Description of New Englunde*, by JOHN SMITHE. vjd.

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 A.D., Ed. by E. ARBER, iii. 588. London, 1876.

It is clear from the following passage at p. 937, that SMITH himself is the author of the name *New England*.

“In this voyage I tooke the description of the coast as well by map as writing, and called it *New-England*: but malicious mindes amongst Sailers and others, drowned that name with the echo of *Nusconcus*, *Canaday*, and *Penaguid*; till, at my humble su[1]te, our most gracious King *Charles*, then Prince of *Wales*, was pleased to confirme it by that title, and did change [p. 232] the barbarous names of their principal Harbours and habitations for such English, that posterity may say, King *Charles* was their Godfather.”

The printing of the book was finished on the following 18 June 1616, p. 229.

The book and Map must then have been presented to Prince CHARLES, and his new names of places struck off on the now exceedingly rare leaf; which through the kindness of CHARLES DEANE, Esq., of Cambridge, Massa., U.S.A., we have been enabled to reprint from a photographed copy, at p. 232. See also p. cxxxiv.

For the bibliography of this Work, see p. cxxx.]

T O T H E H I G H
 H O P E F V L C H A R L E S ,
Prince of Great Britaine.

SIR:

O fauorable was your most renowned and memorable Brother, Prince *Henry*, to all generous designes; that in my discouery of *Virginia*, I presumed to call two namelesse Headlands after my Soueraignes heires, *Cape Henry*, and *Cape Charles*.

Since then, it beeing my chance to range some other parts of *America*, whereof I heere present your Highness the description in a Map; my humble su[i]te is, you would please to change their Barbarous names, for such English, as Posterity may say, Prince *Charles* was their Godfather.

What here in this relation I promise my Countrey, let mee liue or die the slauue of scorne and infamy, if (hauing meanes) I make it not apparent; please God to blesse me but from such accidents as are beyond my power and reason to preuent. For my labours, I desire but such conditions as were promised me out of the gaines; and that your Highnesse would daigne to grace this Work, by your Princely and fauorable respect vnto it, and know mee to be

Your Highnesse true

and faithfull servant,

John Smith.

[1616]

To the Right Honourable and
worthy Lords, Knights, and Gentle-
 men, of his Maiesties Councell, for all
 Plantations and discoueries; especially, of
New England.

[1616]

 *Eeing the deeds of the most iust, and the writings
 of the most wise, not onely of men, but of God
 himselfe, haue beene diuersly traduced by variable
 iudgements of the Times opinionists; what shall
 such an ignorant as I expect? Yet reposing my selfe on your
 fauours, I present this rude discourse to the worldes construc-
 tion; though I am perswaded, that few do think there may
 be had from New England, Staple commodities well worth
 3 or 40000 pound a yeare, with so small charge, and such
 facilitie, as this discourse will acquaint you.*

*But, lest your Honours, that know mee not, should thinke
 I goe by hearesay or affection; I intreat your pardons to say
 thus much of my selfe: Neere twice nine yeares [i.e., 1599-
 1616], I haue beene taught by lamentable experience, aswell
 in Europe and Asia, as Affrick and America, such honest
 aduentures as the chance of warre doth cast vpon poore Soul-
 diers. So that, if I bee not able to iudge of what I haue
 seene, contriued, and done; it is not the fault either of my
 eyes, or foure quarters. And these nine yeares [1607-1616], I
 haue bent my endeauours to finde a sure foundation to begin
 these ensuing projects: which though I neuer so plainlye and
 seriously propound; yet it resteth in God, and you, still to
 dispose of. Not doubting but your goodnesse will pardon my
 rudenesse, and ponder errours in the balance of good will.*

*No more; but sacring all my best abilities to the good of my
 Prince and Countrey, and submitting my selfe to the
 exquisit[e] iudgements of your renowned vertue,*

*I cuer rest
 Your Honours, in
 all honest service*

I. S.

To the right Worshipfull Aduen-
 turers for the Countrey of *New
 England*, in the Cities of *London, Bristow,
 Exeter, Plimouth, Dartmouth, Bastaple,
 Totneys, &c.* and in all other Cities and
 Ports, in the Kingdome
 of *England*

[1616]

For the little Ant, and the sillie Bee seek by their diligence the good of their Common-wealth; much more ought Man. If they punish the drones and sting them [that] steales their labour; then blame not Man. Little hony hath that hiue, where there are more Drones then Bees: and miserable is that Land, where more are idle then well employed. If the indeauours of those vermin be acceptable, I hope mine may be excuseable; Though I confesse it were more proper for mee, To be doing what I say, then writing what I knowe. Had I returned rich, I could not haue erred: Now hauing onely such fish as came to my net, I must be taxed. But, I would my taxers were as ready to aduenture their purses, as I, purse, life, and all I haue: or as diligent to furnish the charge, as I know they are vigilant to crop the fruits of my labours. Then would I not doubt (did God please I might safely arriue in *New England*, and safely returne) but to performe somewhat more then I haue promised, and approue my words by deeds, according to proportion.

I am not the first [that] hath beene betrayed by Pirat[e]s: And foure men of warre, prouided as they were, had beene sufficient to haue taken *Sampson*,

[1616]

Hercules, and *Alexander* the great, no other way furnisht then I was. I knowe not what assurance any haue [who] do passe the Seas, Not to bee subiect to casualty as well as my selfe : but least this disaster may hinder my proceedings, or ill will (by rumour) the behooffull work I pretend ; I haue writ this little : which I did thinke to haue concealed from any publike vse, till I had made my returnes speake as much, as my pen now doth.

But because I speake so much of fishing, if any take mee for such a deuote [*devoted*] fisher, as I dreame of nought else, they mistake mee. I know a ring of golde from a graine of barley, aswell as a goldesmith: and nothing is there to bee had which fishing doth hinder, but furder vs to obtaine. Now for that I haue made knowne vnto you a fit place for plantation, limited within the bounds of your Patent and Commission ; hauing also receiued meanes, power, and authority by your directions, to plant there a Colony, and make further search, and discouery in those parts there yet vnknowne : Considering, withall, first those of his Maiesties Councell, then those Cities aboue named, and diuerse others that haue beene moued to lend their assistance to so great a worke, doe expect (especially the aduenturers) the true relation or euent of my proceedings which I heare are so abused ; I am inforced for all these respects, rather to expose my imbecillitie to contempt, by the testimonie of these rude lines, then all should condemne me for so bad a Factor, as could neither give reason nor account of my actions and designes.

Yours to command

John Smith.

[¶ 491.]

In the deserued Honour of the Au-
thor, Capaine John Smith,
and his Worke.

DAmn'd Ennie is a sp'rite, that euer haunts
Beasts, mis-nam'd Men; Cowards, or Ignorants.
But, onely such shee followes, whose deere WORTH
(Maugre her malice) sets their glorie forth.

If this faire Overture, then, take not; It
Is Enuie's spight (dear friend) in men-of-wit;
Or Feare, lest morsels, which our mouthes possesse,
Might fall from thence; or else, tis Sottishnesse.

If either; (I hope neither) thee they raise;
Thy *Letters are as Letters in thy praise;
Who, by their vice, improue (when they reprooue)
Thy vertue; so, in hate, procure thee Loue.

Then, On firme Worth: this Monument I frame;
Scorning for any Smith to forge such fame.

Io: Dauias, Heref:

* Hinderers.



To his worthy Captaine the Author. [¶ 492.]

JHat which wee call the subiect of all Storie,
Is Truth: which in this Worke of thine giues glorie
To all that thou hast done. Then, scorne the spight
Of Enuie; which doth no mans merits right.

My sword may helpe the rest: my Pen no more
Can doe, but this; I 'aue said enough before.

Your sometime souldier,

I. Codrinton, now Templer.

[A. 492.]

To my Worthy friend and Cosen,
Captaine Iohn Smith.

[1616¹]

*I*t ouer-oyes my heart, when as thy Words
Of these designes, with deeds I doe compare.
*H*eere is a Booke, such worth truth affords,
N one should the due desert thereof impare ;
*S*ith thou, the man, deseruung of these Ages,
M uch paine hast ta'en for this our Kingdoms good,
I n Climes vndeine, Mongst Turks and Saluges,
T 'inlarge our bounds ; though with thy losse of blood.
*H*ence damn'd Detraction : stand not in our way.
*E*nvie, it selfe, will not the Truth gainesay.

N. Smith.



[A. 690.]

To that worthy and generous Gen-
tleman, my verie good friend,
Captaine Smith.

May Fate thy Project prosper, that thy name
May be eternised with liuing fame :
Though foule Detraction Honour would peruert,
And Envie euer waits vpon desert :
In spight of Pelias, when his hate lies colde,
Returne as Iason with a fleece of Golde.
Then after-ages shall record thy praise,
That a New England to this Ile didst raise :
And when thou dy'st (as all that liue must die)
Thy fame liue heere ; thou, with Eternitie.

R: Gunnell.

To his friend Cap: Smith, vpon his
 description of New England.

[§. 689.]

[1616]



*Ir; your Relations I haue read : which shewe,
 Ther's reason I should honour them and you :
 And if their meaning I haue understood,
 I dare to censure, thus : Your Proiect's good ;
 And may (if follow'd) doubtlesse quit the paine,
 With honour, pleasure and a trebble gaine ;
 Beside the benefit that shall arise
 To make more happie our Posterities.*

*For would we daigne to spare, though 'twere no more
 Then what o're-filles, and surfets vs in store,
 To order Nature's fruitfulness a while
 In that rude Garden, you New England stile ;
 With present good, ther's hope in after-daiies
 Thence to repaire what Time and Pride decaies
 In this rich kingdome. And the spatioun West
 Beeing still more with English blood possest,
 The Proud Iberians shall not rule those Seas,
 To checke our ships from sayling where they please ;
 Nor future times make any forraine power
 Become so great to force a bound to Our.*

*Much good my minde fore-tels would follow hence
 With little labour, and with lesse expence.*

*Thriue therefore thy Designe, who ere enuie :
 England may ioy in England's Colony,
 Virginia seeke her Virgine sisters good,
 Be blessed in such happie neighbourhoud :*

*Or, what-soere Fate pleaseth to permit,
 Be thou still honor'd for first moouing it.*

George Wither,

è societate Lincol.

[p. 493.]

In the deserued honour of my honest
and worthie Captaine, John Smith,
 and his Worke.

[1616]



*Captaine and friend ; when I peruse thy booke
 (With Judgements eyes) into thy heart I looke :
 And there I finde (what sometimes Albyon knew)
 A Souldier, to his Countries-honour, true.
 Some fight for wealth ; and some for emptie praise ;
 But thou alone thy Countries Fame to raise.
 With due discretion, and vnda[u]nted heart,
 I (oft) so well haue seene thee act thy Part
 In deepest plunge of hard extreamitie,
 As forc't the troupes of proudest foes to flie.
 Though men of greater Ranke and lesse desert
 Would Pish-away thy Praise, it can not start
 From the true Owner : for, all good-mens tongues
 Shall keepe the same. To them that Part belongs.
 If, then, Wit, Courage, and Successe should get
 Thee Fame ; the Muse for that is in thy debt :
 A part whereof (least able though I bee)
 Thus heere I doe disburse, to honor Thee.*

Rawly Croshaw



Michael Phettiplace, William Phettiplace, [p. 493]
and Richard Wiffing, Gentlemen, and Souldiers
under Captaine Smiths Command: In his
deserued honor for his Worke,
and worth.

 *Hy may not we in this Worke haue our Mite,
That had our share in each black day and night,
When thou Virginia foild'st, yet kept'st unstain'd ;
And held'st the King of Paspeheh enchain'd.*

[1616]

Thou all alone this Saluage sterne didst take.

*Pamunkes king wee saw thee captiue make
Among seauen hundred of his stoutest men,
To murther thee and vs resolued ; when
Fast by the hand thou ledst this Saluage grim,
Thy Pistoll at his breast to gourne him :
Which did infuse such awe in all the rest
(Sith their drad Soueraigne thou had'st so distrest)
That thou and wee (poore sixteene) safe retir'd
Vnto our helapses ships. Thou (thus admir'd)
Didst make proud Powhatan, his subiects send
To Iames his Towne, thy censure to attend :
And all Virginia's Lords, and pettie Kings,
Aw'd by thy vertue, crouch, and Presents brings
To gaine thy grace ; so dreaded thou hast beene :
And yet a heart more milde is seldom seene ;
So, making Valour Vertue, really ;
Who hast nought in thee counterfet, or slie ;
If in the sleight bee not the truest art,
That makes men famous for faire desert.*

[1616]

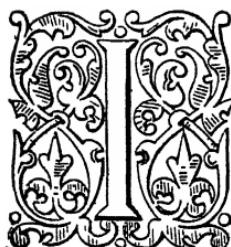
*Who saith of thee, this sauors of vaine-glorie,
 Mistakes both thee and vs, and this true storie.
 If it bee ill in Thee, so well to doe ;
 Then, is it ill in Vs, to praise thee too.
 But, if the first bee well don ; it is well,
 To say it doth (if so it doth) excell !
 Praise is the guerdon of each deere desert,
 Making the praised act the praised part
 With more alacritie : Honours Spurre is Praise ;
 Without which, it (regardlesse) soone decaies.*

*And for this paines of thine wee praise thee father,
 That future Times may know who was the father
 Of this rare Worke (New England) which may bring
 Praise to thy God, and profit to thy King.*





A DESCRIPTION OF New-England, by Captaine *John Smith.*



N the moneth of Aprill, 1614. with [1614] two Ships from *London*, of a few Merchants, I chanced to arriue in *New-England*, a parte of *Ameryca*; at the Ile of *Monahgan*, in $43\frac{1}{2}$ of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take Whales and make tryalls of a Myne of Gold and Copper. If those failed, Fish and Furres was then our refuge, to make our selues sauers howsoeuer. We found this Whale-fishing a costly [p. 698] conclusion: we saw many, and spent much time in chasing them; but could not kill any: they beeing a kinde of Iubartes, and not the Whale that yeeldes Finnes and Oyle as wee expected. For our Golde, it was rather the Masters deuice to get a voyage that projected it, then any knowledge hee had at all of any such matter. Fish and Furres was now our guard: and by our late arrial, and long lingring about the Whale[s], the prime of both those seasons were past ere wee perceuied it; we thinking that their seasons, serued at all times: [2] but wee found it otherwise; for, by the midst of Iune, the fishing failed. Yet in July and August some was taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required. Of dry fish we made about 40000., of Cor fish about 7000.

[p. 697]
My first
voyage
to New
England.

[p. 936.]

[1614]

Whilst the sailors fished, my selfe with eight or nine others of them [that] might best bee spared ; Ranging the coast in a small boat, wee got for trifles neer 1100 Beuer skinnes, 100 Martins [skins], and neer as many Otters ; and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues.

We ranged the Coast both East and West much furder ; but Eastwards our commodities were not esteemed, they were so neare the French who affords them better : and right against vs in the Main [*the mainland*] was a Ship of Sir *Frances Popphames*, that had there such acquaintance, hauing many yeares vsed onely that porte, that the most parte there, was had by him. And 40 leagues westwards were two French Ships, that had made there a great voyage by trade ; during the time we tryed those conclusions, not knowing the Coast, nor Saluages habitation.

With these Furres, the Traine [*train oil*], and Cor-fish, I returned for *England* in the Bark : where within six monthes after our departure from the *Downes*, we safe arriued back. The best of this fish was solde for fие pound the hundred, the rest by ill vsage betwixt three pound and fifty shillings.

The other Ship staied to fit herselfe for *Spaine* with the dry fish ; which was sould, by the Sailers reporte that returned, at forty ryalls [20s.] the quintall, each hundred [weight] weighing two quintalls and a halfe. [3]

[p 702]

The situation
of New
England.

New England is that part of *America* in the Ocean Sea opposite to *Noua Albion* [*California*] in the South Sea, discouered by the most memorable Sir *Francis Drake* in his voyage about the worlde. In regarde whereto this is stiled *New England*, beeing in the same latitude. *New France*, off it, is Northward : Southwardes is *Virginia*, and all the adioyning Continent, with *New Granado*, *New Spain*, *New Andolosia*, and the *West Indies*.



Now because I haue beene so oft asked such strange questions, of the goodnesse and greatnessse of those spacious Tracts of land, how they can bee thus long vnknown, or not possessed by the *Spaniard*, and many such like demands ; I intreat

your pardons, if I chance to bee too plaine, or tedious in relating my knowledge for plaine mens satisfaction. [1614]

Florida is the next adioyning to the *Ind[ies]*, which vnprosperously was attempted to bee planted by the *French*. A Country farre bigger then *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, yet little knowne to any Christian but by the wonderful ende[a]uours of *Ferdinando de Soto*, a valiant *Spaniard*: whose writings in this age is the best guide knowne to search those parts.

Notes of Florida.

Virginia is no Ile (as many doe imagine) but part of the Continent adioyning to *Florida*; whose bounds may be stretched to the magnitude thereof without offence to any Christian inhabitant. For from the degrees of 30. to 45. his ~~Majestie~~ hath granted his Letters patent, the Coast extending South-west and North-east aboue 1500 [4] miles; but to follow it aboard, the shore may well be 2000. at the least: of which, 20 miles is the most [that] giues entrance into the Bay of *Chesapeake*, where is the *London* plantation: within which [entrance] is a Country (as you may perceiue by the description in a Booke and Map printed in my name of that little I there discouered) [that] may well suffice 300000 people to inhabit.

Notes of Virginia.

And Southward adioyneth that part discouered at the charge of *Sir Walter Rawley*, by *Sir Ralph Lane*, and that learned Mathematician Master *Thomas Heryot*.

Northward six or seauen degrees is the Riuier *Sadagahock*, where was planted the Westerne Colony, by that Honourable Patron of vertue, *Sir John Popham*, Lord chief Iustice of *England*.

Ther[e] is also a relation printed by *Captaine Bartholomew Gosnould*, of *Elizabeths Isles*: and an other by *Captaine Waymouth*, of *Pemmaquid*.

From all these diligent obseruers, posterity may be bettered by the fruits of their labours. But for diuers others that, long before and since, haue ranged those parts, within a kenning sometimes of the shore, some touching in one place, some in another, I must entreat them [to] pardon me for omitting them; or if I offend in saying that their true descriptions are concealed, or [were] neuer well obserued, or died with the Authors: so that the Coast is yet [1616] still but euen as a Coast vnknowne and vndiscouered.

[1614]

I haue had six or seauen seuerall plots of those Northern parts, so vnlike each to other, and most so differing from any true proportion or resemblance of the Countrey, as they did [5] mee no more good then so much waste paper, though they cost me more. It may be it was not my chance to see the best; but least others may be deceiued as I was, or thro[u]gh dangerous ignorance hazard themselues as I did, I haue drawen a Map from Point to Point, Ile to Ile, and Harbour to Harbour, with the Soundings, Sands, Rocks. and Land-marks as I passed close aboard the Shore in a little Boat; although there be many things to be obserued which the haste of other affaires did cause me [to] omit. For being sent more to get present commodities then knowledge by discoueries for any future good, I had not power to search as I would: yet it will serue to direct any [that] should goe that waies, to safe Harbours and the Saluages habitations. What marchandize and commodities for their labour they may finde, this following discourse shall plainly demonstrate.

[p 704]

Thus you may see, of this 2000. miles more then halfe is yet vnowne to any purpose: no, not so much as the borders of the Sea are yet certainly discouered. As for the goodness and true substances of the Land, wee are for [the] most part yet altogether ignorant of them, vnlesse it bee those parts about the Bay of *Chisapeack*, and *Sagadahock*: but onely here and there wee touched or haue seene a little the edges of those large dominions, which doe stretch themselues into the Maine, God doth know how many thousand miles; whereof we can yet no more iudge, then a stranger that saileth betwixt *England* and *France* can describe the Harbors [6] and dangers, by landing here or there in some Riuier or Bay, tell thereby the goodnesse and substances of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungaria* and the rest. By this you may perceiue how much they erre, that think euery one which hath bin at *Virginia*, vnderstandeth or knowes what *Virginia* is: Or that the *Spaniards* know one halfe quarter of those Territories they possesse; no, not so much as the true circumference of *Terra Incognita*, whose large dominions may equalize the greatnessse and goodnes of *America*, for any thing yet known. It is strange with what small

[1614]

power he hath raignd in the *East Ind[i]es*; and few will vnderstand the truth of his strength in *America*: where he hauing so much to keepe with such a pampered force, they neede not greatly feare his furie in the *Bermudas*, *Virginia*, *New France*, or *New England*. Beyond whose bounds, *America* doth stretch many thousand miles: into the frozen partes whereof, one Master *Hutson* [*Hudson*], an English Mariner, did make the greatest discouerie of any Christien I know of, where he vnfortunateley died. For ^[A. 705.] *Africa*, had not the industrious Portugales ranged her vnkowne parts, who would haue sought for wealth among those fryed Regions of blacke brutish Negers; where notwithstanding all the wealth and admirable aduentures ~~and~~ endeauours more then 140 years [1476-1616], they knowe not one third of those blacke habitations.

But it is not a worke for euery one, to manage such an affaire as makes a discouerie, and plants a Colony. It ^[A. 964-5.] requires all the best parts of [7] Art, Judgement, Courage, Honesty, Constancy, Diligence, and Industrie, to doe but neere well. Some are more proper for one thing then another; and therein are to be imployed: and nothing breedes more confusion then misplacing and misemploying men in their vndertakings. *Columbus*, *Cortez*, *Pitzara*, *Soto*, *Magellanes*, and the rest serued more than a prentiship to learne howto begin their most memorable attempts in the *West Ind[i]es*: which to the wonder of all ages succesfullly they effected, when many hundreds of others, farre aboue them in the worlds opinion, beeing instructed but by relation, came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters, were both wise, discreet, generous, and couragious. I say not this to detract any thing from their incomparable merits, but to answer those questionlesse questions that keep vs back from imitating the worthinesse of their braue spirits that aduanced themselues from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their posterity to great Lords, their King to be one of the greatest Potentates on earth, and the frutes of their labours, his greatest glory, power, and renowne.

[1614]

[p 706]

The descrip-
tion of New
England.

hat part wee call *New England* is betwixt the degrees of 41. and 45; but that parte this discourse speaketh of, stretcheth but from *Pennobscot* to *Cape Cod*, some 75 leagues by a right line distant each from other: within which bounds I haue seene at least 40. seuerall habitations vpon the Sea Coast, and sounded about 25 excellent good Harbours; [8] in many whereof there is anc[h]orage for 500. sayle of ships of any burden; in some of them for 5000. And more than 200 Iles ouergrowne with good timber, of diuers sorts of wood, which doe make so many harbours as requireth a longer time then I had, to be well discouered.

The
particular
Countries or
Gouerne-
ments.

The principall habitation Northward we were at, was *Pennobscot*. Southward along the Coast and vp the Riuers we found *Mecadacut*, *Segocket*, *Pemmaquid*, *Nusconcus*, *Kenebeck*, *Sagadahock*, and *Aumoughcawgen*; And to those Countries belong the people of *Segotago*, *Paghkuntanuck*, *Pocopassum*, *Taughtanakagnet*, *Warbiganus*, *Nassaque*, *Masherisqueck*, *Wawrigweck*, *Moshochen*, *Wakcogo*, *Passharanack*, &c. To these are allied the Countries of *Aucocisco*, *Accominicus*, *Passataquack*, *Aggawom*, and *Naemkeck*: All these, I could perceiue, differ little in language, fashion, or gouernment: though most be Lords of themselues, yet they hold the *Bashabes* of *Pennobscot*, the chiefe and greatest amongst them.

[p 707]

The next I can remember by name are *Mattahunts*; two pleasant Iles of groues, gardens, and corne fields, a league in the Sea from the Mayne. Then *Totant*, *Massachuset*, *Pocaparwmet*, *Quonahassit*, *Sagoquas*, *Nahapas-sumkeck*, *Topeent*, *Seccasaw*, *Toheet*, *Nasnocomacack*, *Accomack*, *Chawum*; Then *Cape Cod* by which is *Pawmet* and the Isle *Nawset*, of the language and alliance of them of *Chawum*: The others are called *Massachusetts*; of another language, humor, and condition.

For their trade and marchandize; to each of their habitations they haue [9] diuerse Townes and people belonging; and by their relations and descriptions, more then 20 seuerall Habitations and Riuers that stretch themselues farre vp into the Countrey, euen to the borders of diuerse great Lakes, where they kill and take most of their Beuers and Otters.

From *Pemnobscoet* to *Sagadahock* this Coast is all Mountainous and Iles of huge Rocks, but ouergrownen with all sorts of excellent good woodes for building houses, boats, barks, or shippes; with an incredible abundance of most sorts of fish, much fowle, and sundry sorts of good fruites for mans vse.

Betwixt *Sagadahock* and *Sawocatuck* there is but two or three sandy Bayes, but betwixt that and *Cape Cod* very many: especial[l]y the Coast of the *Massachusetts* is so indifferently mixed with high clayie or sandy cliffes in one place, and then tracts of large long ledges of diuers sorts, and quarries of stones in other places so strangely diuided with tinctured veines of diuers colours: as, Free stone for building, Slate for tiling, smooth stone to make Fornaces, and Forges for glasse or iron, and iron ore sufficient, conueniently to melt in them. But the most part so resembleth the Coast of *Devonshire*, I think most of the cliffes would make such lime stone. If they be not of these qualities, they are so like, they may deceiue a better iudgement then mine. All which are so neere adioyning to those other aduantages I obserued in these parts, that if the Ore proue as good iron and steele in those parts, as I know it is within the bounds of [10] the Countrey, I dare engage my head (hauing but men skilfull to worke the simples there growing) to haue all things belonging to the building [and] the rigging of shippes of any proportion, and good marchandize for the fraught, within a square of 10 [^{pp 708,950}] or 14 leagues: and were it for a good rewarde, I would not feare to prooue it in a lesse limitation.

And surely by reason of those sandy cliffes and cliffes of rocks, both which we saw so planted with Gardens and Corne fields, and so well inhabited with a goodly, strong and well proportioned people, besides the greatnessse of the Timber growing on them, the greatnessse of the fish, and the moderate temper of the ayre (for of twentie ffe, not any was sicke but two that were many yeares diseased before they went, notwithstanding our bad lodging and accidentall [*chance*] diet): who can but approoue this a most excellent place, both for health and fertility? And of all the foure parts of the world that I haue yet seene not inhabited, could I haue but meanes to transport a Colonie, I would rather liue here then any

The mix-
ture of an
excellent
soyle.

[A 951]

A prooef of
an excellent
temper

A prooef of
health

[1614]

[1614] where : and if it did not maintaine it selfe, were wee but once indifferently well fitted, let vs starue.

Staple
commodities
present

[pp 893,945]

The
Hollanders
fishing

[v 709]

The maine Staple, from hence to bee extiacted for the present to produce the rest, is fish ; which howeuer it may seeme a mean and a base commoditie : yet who will but truely take the pains and consider the sequell, I thinke will allow it well worth the labour. It is stiange to see what great [11] aduentures the hopes of setting forth men of war [*privateers*] to rob the industrious innocent, would procure ; or such massie promises in grosse: though more are choked then well fedde with such hastie hopes. But who doth not know that the poore Hollanders, chiefly by fishing, at a great charge and labour in all weathers in the open Sea, are made a people so hardy and industrious ? and by the venting this poore commodity to the Easterlings for as meane, which is Wood, Flax, Pitch, Tarre, Rosin, Cordage, and such like (which they exchange againe, to the French, Spaniards, Portugales, and English, &c., for what they want) are made so mighty, strong and rich, as no State but *Venice*, of twice their magnitude, is so well furnished with so many faire Cities, goodly Townes, strong Fortresses, and that abundance of shipping and all sorts of marchandize, as well of Golde, Siluer, Pearles, Diamonds, Pretious stones, Silkes, Veluets, and Cloth of golde; as Fish, Pitch, Wood, or such grosse commodities ? What Voyages and Discoueries, East and West, North and South, yea about the world, make they ? What an Army by Sea and Land, haue they long maintained in despite of one of the greatest Princes of the world ? And neuer could the Spaniard will all his Mynes of golde and Siluer pay his debts, his friends, and army, halfe so truly, as the Hollanders stil haue done by this contemptible trade of fish. Divers (I know) may alledge, many other assistances. But this is their Myne; and the Sea the [12] source of those siluered streames of all their vertue ; which hath made them now the very miracle of industrie, the pattern of perfection for these affaires : and the benefit of fishing is that *Primum mobile* that turnes all their *Spheres* to this height of plentie, strength, honour and admiration.

[1614]

Which is
fifteen
hundred
thousand
pound.

Herring, Cod, and Ling, is that triplicitie that makes their wealth and shippings multiplicities, such as it is, and from which (few would thinke it) they yearly draw at least one million and a halfe of pounds starling ; yet it is most certaine (if records be true) : and in this faculty they are so naturalized, and of their vents [sales] so certainlye acquainted, as there is no likelihood they will euer be paralleld, hauing 2 or 3000 Busses, Flat bottomes, Sword pinks, To[al]des, and such like, that breedes them Saylers, Mariners, Souldiers and Marchants, neuer to be wrought out of that trade, and fit for any other. I will not deny but others may gaine as well as they, that will vse it : though not so certainlye, nor so much in quantity; for want of experience. And this Herring they take vpon the Coast of Scotland and England; their Cod and Ling, vpon the Coast of Izeland and in the North Seas.

Hamborough and the East Countries, for Sturgeon and Cauiare, gets many thousands of pounds from England, and the Straies: Portugale, the Biskaines, and the Spanards, make 40 or 50 Saile yearely to Cape-blank, to hooke for Porgos, Mullet, and [to] make Puttardo : and New found Land, doth yearely fraught neere 800 sayle of Ships with a sillie leane [13] skinny Poore-Iohn, and Corfish ; which at least yearely amounts to 3 or 400000 pound.

If from all those parts such paines is taken for this poore gaines of fish, and by them [that] hath neither meate, drinke, nor clothes ; wood, iron nor steele ; pitch, tarre, nets, leades, salt, hookes, nor lines ; for shipping, fishing, nor prouision, but at the second, third, fourth, or fift hand, drawne from so many seuerall parts of the world ere they come together to be vsed in this voyage. If these I say can gaine, and the Saylers liue going for shares, [on] lesse then the third part of their labours, and yet spend as much time in going and comming as in staying there, so short is the season of fishing : why should wee more doubt then Holland, Portugale, Spaniard, French, or other, but to doe much better then they, where there is victuall to feede vs, wood of all sorts to build Boats, Ships, or Barks ; the fish at our doores ; pitch, tarre, masts, yards, and most of other necessaries onely for making ? And here are no hard Landlords to racke vs

[1614] with high rents, or extorted fines to consume vs; no tedious pleas in law to consume vs with their many years disputations for Iustice; no multitudes to occasion such impediments to good orders, as in popular States. So freely hath God and his Maiesty bestowed those blessings on them that will attempt to obtaine them, as here euery man may be master and owner of his owne labour and land; or the greatest part in a small time. If hee haue nothing but his hands, he may set vp this trade; and by industrie [14] quickly grow rich; spending but halfe that time wel, which in *England* we abuse in idlenes, worse or as ill.

Examples of altitude com
paratively. Here is ground also as good as any lyeth in the height of forty one, forty two, forty three, &c., which is as temperate and as fruitfull as any other paralell in the world.

As for example, on this side the line West of it in the South Sea, is *Noua Albion*, discouered as is said [*p. 188*] by Sir *Francis Drake*. East from it, is the most temperate part of *Portugale*, the ancient kingdomes of *Galazia* [*Galicia*], *Biske*, *Nauarre*, *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, *Castilha* the olde, and the most moderatest of *Castilha* the new, and *Valentia*, which is the greatest part of *Spain*: which if the *Spanish* Histories bee true, in the *Romanes* time abounded no lesse with gold and siluer Mines, then now the *West Indies*; the *Romanes* then vsing the *Spaniards* to work in those Mines, as now the *Spaniard* doth the *Indians*.

In *France*, the Prouinces of *Gasconie*, *Langadock*, *Auignon*, *Prouunce*, *Dolphine* [*Dauphiny*], *Pyamont* [*Piedmont*], and *Turyne*, are in the same paralel: which are the best and richest parts of *France*.

¶ 711.] In *Italy*, the prouinces of *Genua*, *Lumbardy*, and *Verona*, with a great part of the most famous State of *Venice*, the Dukedoms of *Bononia*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Rauenna*, *Bolognia*, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Sienna*, *Vrbine*, *Ancona*, and the ancient Citie and Countrey of *Rome*, with a great part of the great Kingdome of *Naples*. In *Slaunia*, *Istrya*, and *Dalmatia*, with the Kingdomes of *Albania*. In *Grecia*, that famous Kingdome of *Macedonia*, *Bulgaria*, *Thessalia*, *Thracia*, or *Romania*, where is seated [15] the most pleasant and plentiful citie in *Europe*, *Constantinople*.

In *Asia* also, in the same latitude, are the temperatest

parts of *Natolia, Armenia, Persia, and China*; besides diuers other large Countries and Kingdomes in these most milde and temperate Regions of *Asia*.

Southward, in the same height, is the richest of gold Mynes, *Chily* and *Baldiuia*, and the mouth of the great Riuer of *Plate*, &c: for all the rest of the world in that height is yet vnknown.

Besides these reasons, mine owne eyes that haue seene a great part of those Cities and their Kingdomes, as well as it [*New England*] can finde no aduantage they haue in nature, but this, They are beautified by the long labour and diligence of industrious people and Art. This is onely as God made it, when he created the worlde.

Therefore I conclude, if the heart and intralls of those Regions were sought: if their Land were cultured, planted and manured by men of industrie, iudgement, and experiance; what hope is there, or what neede they doubt, hauing those aduantages of the Sea, but it might equalize any of those famous Kingdomes, in all commodities, pleasures, and conditions? seeing euuen the very edges doe naturally afford vs such plenty, as no ship need returne away empty: and onely vse but the season of the Sea, fish will returne an honest gaine, besides all other aduantages; her treasures hauing yet neuer beene opened, nor her originalls wasted, consumed, nor abused.

And whereas it is said, the *Hollanders* serue the *Easterlings* themselues, and other parts that want, [16] with Herring, Ling, and wet Cod; The *Easterlings* [serve] a great part of *Europe*, with Sturgeon and Cauiare; *Cape-blanke, Spaine, Portugale*, and the *Leuant*, [serve] with Mullet and Puttargo; *New found Land*, [serve] all *Europe* with a thin Poore Iohn: yet all is so oueraide with fishers as the fishing decayeth, and many are constrained to returne with a small fraught. *Norway* and *Polonia*, [producing] Pitch, Tar, Masts, and Yarde; *Sweathland* and *Russia*, Iron and Ropes; *France* and *Spaine*, Canuas, Wine, Steele, Iron, and Oyle; *Italy* and *Grecce*, Silks and Fruites: I dare boldly say (because I haue seen naturally growing, or breeding in those parts, the same materialls that all those are made of), they may as well be had there, or the most

[pp. 238, 254]

The particular
stable
commodi-
ties that
may be had

[pp. 240, 255]

[p. 712]

[1614]

part of them, within the distance of 70 leagues, for some few ages, as from all those parts; vsing but the same meanes to haue them that they doe, and with all those aduantages.

The nature
of ground
approoued

First, the ground is so fertill, that questionless it is capable of producing any Grain, Fruits, or Seeds you will sow or plant, growing in the Regions afore named: but it may be, not euery kinde to that perfection of delicacy; or some tender plants may miscarie, because the Summer is not so hot, and the winter is more colde in those parts wee haue yet tryed neere the Sea side, then we finde in the same height, in *Europe* or *Asia*. Yet I made a Garden vpon the top of a Rockie Ile in $43\frac{1}{2}$, 4 leagues from the Main, in May, that grew so well, as it serued vs for sallots in Iune and July.

All sorts [17] of cattell may here be bred and fed in the Iles, or *Peninsulaes*, securely for nothing. In the *Interim*, till they encrease, if need be (obseruing the seasons) I durst vndertake to haue corne enough from the Saluages for 300 men, for a few trifles. And if they [*the Savages*] should bee vntoward (as it is most certaine they are) thirty or forty good men will be sufficient to bring them all in subiection, and make this prouision; if they understand what they doe: 200 whereof may, nine monethes in the yeare, be employed in making marchandable fish, till the rest prouide other necessaries fit to furnish vs with other commodities.

The seasons
for fishing
approoued

[A. 713]

In March, Aprill, May, and halfe Iune, here is Cod in abundance; in May, Iune, Iuly, and August, Mullet and Sturgion, whose roes doe make Cauiare and Puttargo. Herring, if any desire them, I haue taken many out of the bellies of Cods, some in nets; but the Saluages compare their store in the Sea, to the haires of their heads: and surely there are an incredible abundance vpon this Coast. In the end of August, September, October, and Nouember, you haue Cod againe, to make Cor fish, or Poore Iohn: and each hundred [fish] is as good as two or three hundred in the *Newfound Land*: so that halfe the labour in hooking, splitting, and turning is sauied. And you may haue your fish at what Market you will, before they can haue any in *New-found Land*; where their fishing is chiefly but in Iune and Iuly: whereas it is heere in March, Aprill, May,

September, October, and [18] Nouember, as is said. So that by season of this plantation, the Marchants may haue fraught both out and home: which yeelds an aduantage worth consideration.

[1614]

Your Cor-fish, you may in like manner transport as you see cause, to serue the Ports in *Portugale* (as *Lisbon*, *Auera*, *Porta port*, and diuers others) or what market you please, before your *Ilanders* [*i.e.*, *Icelanders*] returne. They being tyed to the season in the open Sea; you hauing a double season: and fishing before your doors, may euery night sleep quietly a shore with good cheare and what fires you will: or when you please [fish], with your wiues and familie; they onely [in] their ships in the maine Ocean.

The ~~Mullet~~^{Salmons} heere are in that abundance, you may take them with nets, sometimes by hundreds; where at *Cape blank*, they hooke them: yet those but one foot and a halfe in length; these two, three, or foure, as oft I haue measured. Much Salmon some haue found vp the Riuers as they haue passed: and heer the ayre is so temperate as all these at any time may well be preserued.

Now, young boyes and girles, Saluages or any other, be they neuer such idlers, may turne, carry, and return fish, without either shame, or any great paine: hee is very idle that is past twelue yeares of age and cannot doe so much; and she is very olde, that cannot spin a thre[a]d to make engines to catch them.

Employ-
ment
for poore
people and
fatherlesse
children

For their transportation, the ships that go there to fish may transport the first; who for their passage [19] will spare the charge of double manning their ships; which they must doe in the *New-found Land*, to get their fraught: but one third part of that companie are onely but proper to serue a stage, carry a barrow, and turne Poor John; notwithstanding, they must haue meate, drinke, clothes, and passage as well as the rest.

[p 714]
The facility
of the
plantation

Now all I desire is but this. That those that voluntarily will send shipping, should make here the best choise they can, or accept such as are presented to them, to serue them at that rate; and their ships returning, leaue such with me, with the value of that they should receiue comming home, in such prouisions and necessarie tooles, armes, bedding and apparell, salt, hookes, nets, lines, and

[1614]

such like, as they spare of the remainings; who till the next returne, may keepe their boates, and doe them many other profitable offices. Prouided I haue men of ability to teach them their functions: and a company fit for Souldiersto be ready vpon an occasion, because of the abuses which haue beene offered the poore Saluages, and the liberty both French or any that will, hath to deale with them as they please; whose disorders will be hard to reforme, and the longer the worse.

Now such order, with facilitie might be taken, with euery port Towne or Citie, to obserue but this order; with free power to conuert the benefits of their fraughts to what aduantage they please, and increase their numbers as they see occasion: who euer as they are able to subsist of themselves, may beginne the new Townes in [20] *New England* in memory of their olde; which freedome being confined but to the necessity of the generall good, the euent (with Gods help) might produce an honest, a noble, and profitable emulation.

Present commodities.

[p. 715]

Salt vpon salt may assuredly be made; if not at the first in ponds, yet till they bee prouided this may be vsed. Then the Ships may transport Kine, Horses, Goates, course Cloath, and such commodities as we want; by [against] whose arriuall may be made that prouision of fish to fraught the Ships that they stay not; and then if the sailors goe [serve] for wages, it matters not. It is hard if this returne defray not the charge; but care must be had, they arriue in the Spring, or else prouision be made for them against the Winter.

Of certaine red berries called Alkermes which is worth ten shillings a pound, but of these hath been sould for thirty or forty shillings the pound, may yearly be gathered a good quantitie.

Of the Musk Rat may be well raised gaines well worth their labour, that will endeuer to make tryall of their goodnessse.

Of Beuers, Otters, Martins, Blacke Foxes, and Furres of price, may yearly be had 6 or 7000: and if the trade of the *French* were preuented, many more. 25000 this ycare [1614] were brought from those Northren parts into *France*; of which trade, we may haue as good part as the *French*, if we take good courses.

[1614]

Of Mynes of Golde and Siluer, Copper, and [21] probabilitie of Lead, Christall and Allum, I could say much if relations were good assurances. It is true indeed, I made many trials, according to those instructions I had, which doe perswade mee I need not despaire, but there are metalls in the Countrey: but I am no Alchymist, nor will promise more then I know: which is, Who will vndertake the rectifying of an Iron forge, if those that buy meate, drinke, coals, ore, and all necessaries at a dear rate gaine; where all these things are to be had for the taking vp, in my opinion cannot lose.

Of woods seeing there is such plenty of all sorts; if those that build ships and boates, buy wood at so great a price as it is in *England, Spaine, France, Italy, and Holland*, and all other prouisions for the nourishing of mans life, liue well by their tiade: when labour is all [that is] required to take those necessaries, without any other tax; what hazard will be here, but doe much better? And what commoditie in *Europe* doth more decay then wood? For the goodnesse of the ground, let vs take it fertill, or barren, or as it is: seeing it is certaine it beares fruites, to nourish and feed man and beast, as well as *England*; and the Sea those seuerall sorts of fish I haue related.

Thus seeing all good prouisions for mans sustenance, may with this facility be had by a little extraordinarie labour, till that transported be increased; and all necessaries for shipping, onely for labour: to which may bee added the assistance of the Saluages, which may easily be had, if they be discreetly handled in their [22] kindes; towards fishing, planting, and destroying woods.

[§. 726.]

What gaines might be raised if this were followed (when there is but once men to fill your store houses, dwelling there; you may serue all *Europe* better and farre cheaper, then can the *Izeland* fishers, or the *Hollanders, Cape-blank, or Newfound Land*: who must be at as much more charge then you) may easily be conjectured by this example.

2000. pound will fit out a ship of 200. and 1 [ship] of a 100 tuns. If the dry fish they both make, [they] fraught that of 200. and goe for *Spaine*, sell it but at ten shillings a quintal [40 lbs] (but commonly it giueth fifteen or twentie, espe-

An example of the gains upon every yeare or six monethes returne.

[1614]

[A. 781]

cially when it commeth first, which [at 50 *Quintals to the Ton*, = £37 10s. or £50 a Ton; therefore 80 Tons of fish] amounts to 3 or 4000 pound; but say but tenne, which is the lowest), allowing the rest for waste, it amounts at that rate, to 2000 pound; which is the whole charge of your two ships, and their equipage. Then the returne [by exchange] of the money, and the fraught of the ship for the vintage [*homeward from Spain*] or any other voyage, is cleere gaine, [together] with your shippe of a 100 tuns of Train and oyle, besides the beuers and other commodities; and that you haue at home within six monethes, if God please but to send an ordinarie passage.

Then sauing halfe this charge by the not staying of your ships, your victual, ouerplus of men and wages; with her fraught thither of things necessarie for the planters, the salt being there made, as also may the nets and lines within a short time: if nothing were to bee expected but this, it might in time equalize your *Hollanders* gaines, if not exceed them. They returning but [23] wood, pitch, tarre, and such grosse commodities; you, wines, oyles, fruits, silkes, and such *Straits* commodities as you please to prouide by your Factors, against such times as your shippes arriue with them.

This would so increase our shipping and sailers, and so employ and encourage a great part of our idlers and others that want imployments fitting their qualities at home (where they shame [*are ashamed*] to doe that they would doe abroad), that could they but once taste the sweet fruites of their owne labours, doubtlesse many thousands would be aduised by good discipline, to take more pleasure in honest industrie, then in their humours of dissolute idlenessse.

¶ 771
A description of the Countries, in particular, and their situation.

But to returne a little more to the particulars of this Countrey, which I intermingle thus with my projects and reasons, not being so sufficiently yet acquainted in those parts, to write fully the estate of the Sea, the Ayre, the Land, the Fruites, the Rocks, the People, the Gouvernement, Religion, Territories and Limitations, Friends and Foes: but [simply] as I gathered from the niggardly relations in a broken language, to my vnderstanding, during the time I ranged those Countries, &c.

The most Northern part I was at, was the Bay of *Pennobscot*, which is East and West, North and South, more then ten leagues : but such were my occasions [that] I was constrained to be satisfied of them I found in the Bay, that the Riuers ranne farre vp into the Land, and was well inhabited with many people; but they were from their habitations, either fishing [24] among the Iles, or hunting the Lakes and Woods, for Deer and Beuers. The Bay is full of great Islands, of one, two, six, eight, or ten miles in length ; which diuides it into many faire and excellent good harbours.

On the East of it, are the *Tarrantines*, their mortall enemies [*i.e.*, of *Pennobscot*] ; where inhabit the *French*, as they report, that liue with those people as one nation or family. And Northwest of *Pennobscot* is *Mecaddacut*, at the foot of a high mountaine (a kind of fortresse against the *Tarrantines*) adioyning to the high mountaines of *Pennobscot*, against whose feet doth beat the Sea : but ouer all the Land, Iles, or other impediments, you may well see them, sixteene or eighteene leagues from their situation. *Segocket* is the next ; then *Nusconcus*, *Pemnaquid*, and *Sagadahock*.

Vp this Riuer [at *Sagadahock*], where was the Westerne plantation, are *Aumuckcawgen*, *Kinnebeck*, and diuers others ; where there is planted some corne fields. Along this Riuer 40 or 50 miles, I saw nothing but great high cliffes of barren Rocks, ouergrown with wood : but where the Saluages dwelt, there the ground is exceeding fat and fertill.

Westward of this Riuer is the Countrey *Aucocisco*, in the bottome of a large deepe Bay, full of many great Iles, which diuides it into many good harbours.

Sowocotuck is the next, in the edge of a large sandy Bay ; which hath many Rocks and Iles : but few good harbours but for Barks, I yet know.

But all this Coast to *Pennobscot*, and as farre I could see Eastward of it, is nothing but such high craggy Clifffy Rocks and stony [25] Iles that I wondered such great trees could growe vpon so hard foundations. It is a Countrie rather to affright, then delight one. And how to describe a more plaine spectacle of desolation, or more

[1614]

barren, I knowe not. Yet the Sea there is the strangest fishpond I euer saw; and those barren Iles so furnished with good woods, springs, fruits, fish, and foule, that it makes mee thinke, though the Coast be rockie, and thus affrightable; the Vallies, Plaines, and interior parts may well (notwithstanding) be very fertile. But there is no kingdome so fertile [that] hath not some part barren: and *New England* is great enough to make many Kingdomes and Countries, were it all inhabited.

As you passe the Coast still Westward, *Accomoniticus* and *Passataquack* are two conuenient harbors for small barks; and a good Countrie, within their craggy cliffs.

Angoam is the next. This place might content a right curious iudgement: but there are many sands at the entrance of the haibour; and the worst is, it is inbayed too farre from the deepe Sea. Heere are many rising hilles; and on their tops and descents, many corne fields and delightful groues. On the East, is an Ile of two or three leagues in length; the one halfe, plaine morish grasse fit for pasture, with many faire high groues of mulberie trees gardens: and there is also Okes, Pines, and other woods to make this place an excellent habitation, beeing a good and safe harbor.

Nauinck though it be more rockie ground (for *Angoam* is sandie) [is] not much inferior, neither for the [26] harbor, nor any thing [that] I could perceiue, but the multitude of people.

[App. 206, 232,
275, 718,
720, 853,
855, 866 1]
[App. 720, 838]
[App. 719]

From thence doth stretch into the Sea, the faire headland *Tragabigzanda*, fronted with three Iles called the three *Turks heads*: to the North of this, doth enter a great Bay, where wee founde some habitations and corne fields. They report a great Riuier, and at least thirtie habitations, doe possesse this Countrie. But because the *French* had got their Trade, I had no leasure to discouer it.

The Iles of *Mattahunts* are on the West side of this Bay, where are many Iles, and questionlesse good harbours: and then the Countrie of the *Massachusetts*, which is the Paradise of all those parts. For, heere are many Iles all planted with corne; groues, mulberries, saluage gardens, and good harbours: the Coast is for the most

[1614] part, high clayie sandie cliffs. The Sea Coast as you passe, shewes you all along large corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the French, hauing remained heere neere six weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the inhabitants relations, *viz.* if there be neer three thousand people vpon these Iles, and that the River doth pearce many daies iournees the intralles of that Countrey.

We found the people in those parts verie kinde; but in their furie no lesse valiant. For, vpon a quarrell we had with one of them, hee onely with three others, crossed the harbor of *Quonahassit* to certaine rocks whereby wee must passe; and there let flie their arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger.

Then come you to *Accomack*, an excellent good [27] harbor, good land; and no want of any thing but industrious people. After much kindnessse; vpon a small occasion, wee fought also with fortie or fiftie of those: though some were hurt, and some slaine; yet within an hour after, they became friendes.

Cape Cod is the next [that] presents it selfe, which is onely a headland of high hils of sand ouergrownne with shrubbie pines, hurts, and such trash; but an excellent harbor for all weathers. This *Cape* is made by the maine [pp. 719, 749.] Sea on the one side, and a great Bay on the other in forme of a sickle; on it doth inhabit the people of *Pawmet*: and in the bottome of the Bay, the people of *Chawum*.

Towards the South and Southwest of this *Cape*, is found a long and dangerous shoale of sands and rocks. But so farre as I incircled it, I found thirtie fadom [of] water aboard the shore, and a strong current; which makes mee thinke there is a Channell about this shoale: where is the best and greatest fish to be had, Winter and Summer, in all that Countrie. But the Saluages say there is no Channell; but that the shoales beginne from the maine at *Pawmet*, to the Ile of *Nausit*; and so extends beyond their knowledge into the Sea.

The next to this, is *Capawack*, and those abounding Countries of copper, corne, people, mineralls: which I went [pp. 218, 732.] to discouer this last yeare [1615]; but because I miscarried

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by the way, I will leauē them, till God please I haue better acquaintance with them.

A good
Countrye.

The *Massachusetts*, they report, sometimes haue warres with the *Bashabes* of *Pennobskot*; and are not [28] alwaies friends with them of *Chawun* and their alliants: but now they are all friends, and haue each trade with other, so farre as they haue societie on each others frontiers. For they [*the Bashabes*] make no such voyages as from *Pennobskot* to *Cape Cod*, seldom to *Massachewset*.

In the North (as I haue said) they begunne to plant corne, whereof the South part hath such plentie as they haue what they will from them of the North; and in the Winter much more plenty of fish and foule: but both Winter and Summer hath it in the one part or other all the yeare; being the meane and most indifferent temper betwixt heat and colde, of all the regions betwixt the Lyne and the Pole: but the furs Northward are much better, and in much more plentie, then Southward.

Land
markes.

The remardeablest Iles and mountaines for Landmarkes are these. The highest Ile is *Sorico*, in the Bay of *Pennobskot*: but the three Iles and a rock of *Matinnack* are much furder in the Sea. *Metinicuſ* is also three plaine Iles and a rock, betwixt it and *Monahigan*. *Monahigan* is a rounde high Ile, and close by it [is] *Monanis*; betwixt which is a small harbor where we ride [*rode*.] In *Dameris* Iles is such another. *Sagadahock* is knowne by *Satquin* and foure or five Iles in the mouth. *Smyths* Iles are a heape together, [with] none neere them, against

[pp 718, 838] *Accominticus*. The Three Turks Heads are three Iles [pp 204, 232, 276, 718, 720, 833, 855, 866] seen far to Sea-ward in regard of the headland.

The cheefe headlands are onely *Cape Tragabigzanda* and *Cape Cod*. [29]

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The cheefe mountaines, [are] them of *Pennobscot*; the twinkling mountaine of *Aucociso*; the greate mountaine of *Sasanou*; and the high mountaine of *Massachusit*: each of which you shall finde in the Mappe; their places, formes, and altitude.

The waters are most pure, proceeding from the intrals of rockie mountaines.

Hearbs.

The hearbes and fruits are of many sorts and kindes: as alkermes, curran[t]s, or a fruit like curran[t]s, mulberries,

vines, respices, goosberries, plummes, walnuts, chesnuts, small nuts, &c., pumpions, gourds, strawberries, beans, pease, and mayze; a kinde or two of flax, wherewith they make nets, lines, and ropes both small and great, verie strong for their quantities [substance].

Oke is the chiefe wood; of which there is great difference in regard of the soyle where it groweth: firre, pyne, walnut, ches[t]nut, birch, ash, elme, cypresse, ceder, mulberrie, plum tree, hazell, saxefrage, and many other sorts.

Eagles, Gripes, diuers sorts of Haukes, Cranes, Geese, Brants, Cormorants, Ducks, Sheldrakes, Teale, Meawes, Guls, Turkies, Due-doppers, and many other sorts, whose names I knowe not.

Whales, Grampus, Porkpisces, Tuibut, Sturgion, Cod, Hake, Haddock, Cole, Cusk or small Ling, Shark, Mackerell, Herring, Mullet, Bas[s]e, Pinacks, Cunners, Pearch, Eels, Crabs, Lobsters, Muskles, Wilkes, Oysters, and diuerse others, &c.

Moos[e], a beast bigger then a Stagge; deere, red and Fallow; Beuers, Wolues, Foxes both blacke and other; Aroughconds, Wild-cats, Beares, Otters, [30] Martins, Fitches, Musquassus, and diuerse sorts of vermine, whose names I know not.

All these and diuerse other good things do heere, for want of vse, still increase, and decrease with little diminution; whereby they growe to that abundance [that] you shall scarce finde any Baye, shallow shore, or Coue of sand, where you may not take many Clampes, or Lobsters, or both at your pleasure; and in many places lode your boat if you please: nor Iles where you finde not fruits, birds, crabs, and muskles, or all of them for [the] taking, at a lowe water. And in the harbors we frequented, a little boye might take of Cunners and Pinacks and such delicate fish, at the ships sterne, more then sixe or tenne can eate in a daie; but with a casting net, thousands when wee pleased: and scarce any place, but Cod, Cuske, Holybut, Mackerell, Scate, or such like, a man may take with a hooke or line what he will. And in diuers sandy Baies, a man may draw with a net great store of Mulletts, Ba[s]ses, and diuers other sorts of such excellent fish, as many as his Net can drawe on shore. [There is] no

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Woods

Birds

Fishes.

Beasts.

[p 722.]

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Riuers where there is not plentie of Sturgion, or Salmon, or both: all which are to be had in abundance obseruing but their seasons. But if a man will goe at Christmasse to gather Cherries in Kent, he may be deceiued, though there be plentie in Summer: so heere, these plenties haue each their seasons, as I haue expressed.

We for the most part had little but bread and vinegar: and though the most part of Iuly when the fishing decaied, they wrought all day, laie abroade in the Iles [31] all night, and liued on what they found, yet were [they] not sicke. But I would wish none [to] put himself long to such plunges, except necessitie constraine it. Yet worthy is that person to starue that heere cannot liue; if he haue sense, strength, and health: for, there is no such penury of these blessings in any place, but that a hundred men may, in one houre or two, make their prouisions for a day; and hee that hath experience to mannage well these affaires, with fortie or thirtie honest industrious men, might well vndertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subiect the Saluages, and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good corne, fish, and flesh, as the earth hath of those kindes, and yet make that labor but their pleasure: prouided that they haue engin[e]s that be proper for their purposes.

A note for
men that
haue great
spirits, and
smal meanes

Who can desire more content, that hath small meanes; or but only his merit to aduance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground hee hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he haue but the taste of virtue and magnanimitie, what to such a minde can bee more pleasant, then planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by Gods blessing and his owne industrie, without prejudice to any? If hee haue any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can hee doe lesse huitfull to any: or moie agreeable to God, then to seeke to conuert those poore Saluages to know Christ, and humanitie, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines? What so truely su[1]utes with honour and honestie, [32] as the discouering things vnknowne? erecting Townes, peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things vniust, teaching virtue; and

gaine to our Native mother-coutrie a kingdom to attend her: finde imployment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause Posteritie to remember thee; and remembredg thee, euer honour that remembrance with praise?

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Consider: What were the beginnings and endings of the Monarkies of the *Chaldeans*, the *Syrians*, the *Grecians*, and *Romanes*, but this one rule; What was it they would not doe, for the good of the commonwealth, or their Mother-citie? For example: *Rome*, What made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the aduentures of her youth, not in riots at home; but in dangers abroade? and the iustice and iudgement out of their experience, when they grewe aged. What was their ruine and hurt, but this; The excesse of idlenesse, the fondnesse of Parents, the want of experiance in Magistrates, the admiration of their vndeserued honours, the contempt of true merit, their vniust iealo[u]sies, their politicke incredulities, their hypocriticall seeming goodnessse, and their deeds of secret lewdnesse? finally, in fine, growing onely formall temporists, all that their predecessors got in many years, they lost in few daies. Those by their pain and vertues became Lords of the world; they by their ease and vices became slaues to their seruants. This is the difference betwixt the vse of Armes in the field, and on the monuments of stones; [33] the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and miserie, iustice and corruption, substance and shadowes, words and deeds, experiance and imagination, making Commonwealths and marring Commonwealths, the fruits of vertue and the conclusions of vice.

Then, who would liue at home idly (or thinke in himselfe any worth to liue) onely to eate, drink, and sleepe, and so die? Or by consuming that carelesly, his friends got worthily? Or by vsing that miserably, that maintained vertue honestly? Or for being descended nobly, pine with the vaine vaunt of great kindred, in penurie? Or (to maintaine a silly shewe of brauery) toyle out thy heart, soule, and time, basely; by shifts, tricks, cards, and dice? Or by relating newes of others actions, sharke here or there for a dinner, or supper; deceiue thy friends, by faire promises and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou neuer intendest to pay; offend the lawes, surfeit with

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excesse, burden thy Country, abuse thy selfe, despaire in want, and then couzen thy kindred, yea euen thine owne brother, and wish thy parents death (I will not say damnation) to haue their estates? though thou seest what honours, and rewards, the world yet hath for them [who] will seeke them and worthily deserue them.

I would be sor[r]y to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning: for I wish good to all, hurt to none. But rich men for the most part are growne to that dotage, through their pride in [34] their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it, or their life.

And what hellish care do such take to make it their owne miserie, and their Countries spoile, especially when there is most neede of their imployment? drawing by all manner of inuentions, from the Prince and his honest subiects, euen the vitall spirits of their powers and estates: as if their Bagges, or Bragges, were so powerfull a defence, the malicious could not assault them; when they are the onely baite, to cause vs not to be onely assaulted; but betrayed and murdered in our owne security, ere we well perceiue it.

An example
of secure
couetous-
ness.

May not the miserable ruine of *Constantinople*, their impregnable walles, riches, and pleasures [at] last taken by the *Turke* (which are but a bit, in comparison of their now mightines) remember vs of the effects of priuate couetousness? at which time the good *Emperour* held himselfe rich enough, to haue such rich subiects, so formall in all excesse of vanity, all kinde of delicacie and prodigalitie. His pouertie when the *Turke* besieged, the citizens (whose marchandizing thoughts were onely to get wealth, little conceiuing the desperate resolution of a valiant expert enemy) left the Emp[erour] so long to his conclusions, hauing spent all he had to pay his young, raw, discontented Souldiers; that sodainly he, they, and their citie were all a prey to the deuouring *Turke*. And what they would not spare for the maintenance of them who aduentured their liues to defend them, did serue onely their [35] enemies to torment them, their friends, and countrey, and all Christendome to this present day. Let this lamentable example remember you that are rich (seeing there are such great theeuers in the world to robbe you) not [to] grudge to lend some proportion, to breed them that

haue little, yet [are] willing to learne how to defend you : for, it is too late when the deede is a-doing.

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The *Romanes* estate hath beene worse then this: for, the meere couetousnesse and extortion of a few of them, so mooued the rest, that not hauing any imployment but contemplation ; their great iudgements grew to so great malice, as themselues were sufficient to destroy themselues by faction : Let this mooue you to embrace imployment for those whose educations, spirits, and iudgements want but your purses ; not onely to preuent such accustomed dangers, but also to gaine more thereby then you haue.

And you fathers, that are either so foolishly fond, or so miserably couteous, or so willfully ignorant, or so negligently carelesse, as that you will rather maintaine your children in idle wantonness, till they grow your masters ; or become so basely vnkinde, as they wish nothing but your deaths ; so that both sorts grow dissolute : and although you would wish them any where to escape the gallowes, and ease your cares ; though they spend you here one, two, or three hundred pound[s] a yeer ; you would grudge to giue halfe so much in aduenture with them, to obtaine an estate, which in a small time, but with a little assistance of your [36] prouidence, might be better then your owne. But if an Angell should tell you, [that] any place yet vnowne can afford such fortunes ; you would not beleue him, no more then Columbus was beleueed there was any such Land as is now the well knowne abounding *America* ; much lesse such large Regions as are yet vknowne, as well in *America*, as in *Africa*, and *Asia*, and *Terra incognita* ; where were courses for gentlemen (and them that would be so reputed) more suiting their qualities, then begging from their Princes generous disposition, the labours of his subiects, and the very marrow of his maintenance.

I haue not beene so ill bred, but I haue tasted of *Plenty* and *Pleasure*, as well as *Want* and *Miserie* : nor doth necessarie yet, or occasion of discontent, force me to these endeaours : nor am I ignorant what small thanke I shall haue for my paines ; or that many would haue the Worlde imagine them to be of great iudgement, that can but blemish these my designes, by their witty obiections and

The
Authoress
conditions.

[1616] detractions: yet (I hope) my reasons with my deeds, will so preuaile with some, that I shall not want imployment in these affaires, to make the most blinde see his owne senselessnessse, and incredulity; Hoping that gaine will make them affect that, which Religion, Charity, and the Common good cannot. It were but a poore deuice in me, To deceiue my selfe; much more the King, State, my Friends and Countrey, with these inducements: which, seeing his Maiestie hath giuen [37] permission, I wish all sorts of worthie, honest, industrious spirits, would understand: and if they desire any further satisfaction, I will doe my best to glue it: Not to perswade them to goe onely; but goe with them: Not leauue them there; but liue with them there.

I will not say, but by ill prouiding and vndue managing, such courses may be taken, [that] may make us miserable enough: But if I may haue the execution of what I haue projecterd; if they want to eate, let them eate or neuer digest Me. If I performe what I say, I desire but that reward out of the gaines [which] may su[i]te my paines, quality, and condition. And if I abuse you with my tongue, take my head for satisfaction. If any dislike at the yeares end, defraying their charge, by my consent they should freely returne. I feare not want of companie sufficient, were it but knowne what I know of those Countries; and by the prooef of that wealth I hope yearly to returne, if God please to blesse me from such accidents, as are beyond my power in reason to preuent: For, I am not so simple to thinke, that euer any other motiue then wealth, will euer erect there a Commonweale; or draw companie from their ease and humours at home, to stay in *New England* to effect my purposes.

[16 929] The
planters
pleasures,
and profits

And lest any should think the toile might be insupportable, though these things may be had by labour, and diligence: I assure my selfe there are who delight extreamly in vaine pleasure, that take much more paines in *England*, to enioy it, then I should doe heere [*New England*] to gaine wealth sufficient: [38] and yet I thinke they should not haue halfe such sweet content: for, our pleasure here is still gaines; in *England* charges and losse. Heer nature and liberty affords vs that freely, which in *England* we want,

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or it costeth vs dearely. What pleasure can be more, then (being tired with any occasion a-shore, in planting Vines, Fruits, or Hearbs, in contriuing their owne Grounds, to the pleasure of their owne mindes, their Fields, Gardens, Orchards, Buildings, Ships, and other works, &c.) to recreate themselues before their owne doores, in their owne [p 727] boates vpon the Sea; where man, woman and childe, with a small hooke and line, by angling, may take diuerse sorts of excellent fish, at their pleasures? And is it not pretty sport, to pull vp two pence, six pence, and twelue pence, as fast as you can ha[u]le and veare a line? He is a very bad fisher [that] cannot kill in one day with his hooke and line, one, two, or three hundred Cods: which dressed and dried, if they be sould there for ten shillings the hundred, though in England they will giue more than twentie, may not both the seruant, the master, and marchant, be well content with this gaine? If a man worke but thiee dayes in seauen, he may get more then hee can spend, vnlesse he will be excessiue. Now that Carpenter, Mason, Gardiner, Taylor, Smith, Sailer, Forgers, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation though they fish but an houre in a day, to take more then they eate in a weeke? or if they will not eate it, because there is so much better [39] choice; yet sell it, or change it, with the fisher men, or marchants, for any thing they want. And what sport doth yeeld a more pleasing content, and lesse hurt or charge then angling with a hooke; and crossing the sweete ayre from Ile to Ile, ouer the silent stremes of a calme Sea? Wherein the most curious may finde pleasure, profit, and content.

Thus, though all men be not fishers: yet all men, whatsoeuer, may in other matters doe as well. For necessity doth in these cases so rule a Commonwealth, and each in their severall functions, as their labours in their qualitie may be as profitable, because there is a necessary mutuall vse of all.

For Gentlemen, what exercise should more delight them, then ranging dayly those vnowne parts, vsing fowling and fishing, for hunting and hawking? and yet you shall see the wilde-haukes giue you some pleasure, in seeing them stoope (six or seauen after one another) an houre or two together, at the skuls of fish in the faire harbours, as

Imploy-
ments for
gentlemen.

[1616]

those a-shore at a foule ; and neuer trouble nor torment yourselves, with watching, mewing, feeding, and attending them : nor kill horse and man with running and crying, *See you not a hawk ?* For hunting also : the woods, lakes, and riuels affoord not onely chase sufficient, for any that delights in that kinde of toyle, or pleasure ; but such beasts to hunt, that besides the delicacy of their bodies for food, their skins are so rich, as may well recompence thy dayly labour, with a Captains pay. [40]

[A 728]

Employ-
ments for
labourers

For labourers, if those that sowe hemp, rape, turneps, parsnips, carrots, cabidge, and such like ; giue 20, 30, 40, 50 shillings yearely for an acre of ground, and meat drinke and wages to vse it, and yet grow rich : when better, or at least as good ground, may be had, and cost nothing but labour ; it seems strange to me, any such should there grow poore.

My purpose is not to perswade children from their parents ; men from their wiues ; nor seruants from their masters : onely, such as with free consent may be spared : But that each parish, or village, in Citie or Countrey, that will but apparell their fatherlesse children, of thirteene or fourteen years of age, or young mar[r]ied people, that haue small wealth to liue on ; heere by their labour may liue exceeding well : prouided alwaies that first there bee a sufficient power to command them, houses to receiue them, meanes to defend them, and meet prouisions for them ; for, any place may bee ouerlain : and it is most necessarie to haue a fortresse (ere this grow to practice) and sufficient masters (as, Carpenters, Masons, Fishers, Fowlers, Gardiners, Husbandmen, Sawyers, Smiths, Spinsters, Taylors, Weauers, and such like) to take ten, twelue, or twentie, or as ther is occasion, for Apprentises. The Masters by this may quicklie growe rich ; these may learne their trades themselues, to doe the like ; to a generall and an incredible benefit, for King, and Countrey, Master, and Seruant. [41]

Example of
the Span-
iards.

It would bee an historie of a large volume, to recite the aduentures of the *Spanyards*, and *Portugals*, their affronts and defeats, their dangers and miseries ; which with such incomparable honour and constant resolution,

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so farre beyond beleefe, they haue attempted and indured in their discoueries and plantations, as may well condemne vs, of too much imbecillitie, sloth, and negligence: yet the Authors of those new inuentions, were held as ridiculous, for a long time, as now are others, that doe but seek to imitate their vnparralleled vertues. And though we see daily their mountaines of wealth (sprong from the plants of their generous indeuours) yet is our sensualitie and vntowardnesse such, and so great, that wee either ignorantly beleue nothing, or so curiously contest to [p 729.] preuent wee knowe not what future euent; that wee either so neglect, or oppresse and discourage the present, as wee spoile all in the making, crop all in the blooming; and building vpon faire sand, ratherthen rough rockes, iudge that wee knowe not, gourne that wee haue not, feare that which is not; and for feare some should doe too well, force such against their willes to be idle or as ill. And who is he [that] hath iudgement, courage, and any industrie or qualitie with vnderstanding, will leauue his Countrie, his hopes at home, his certaine estate, his friends, pleasures, libertie, and the preferment sweete *England* doth afford to all degrees, were it not to aduance his fortunes by inioying his deserts? whose prosperitie once appearing will incourage others: but it must be cherished [42] as a childe, till it be able to goe, and vnderstand it selfe, and not corrected nor oppressed aboue it[s] strength, ere it knowe wherefore.

A child can neither performe the office, nor deedes of a man of strength, nor indure that affliction He is able; nor can an Apprentice at the first performe the part of a Maister. And if twentie yeeres bee required to make a child a man, seuen yeares limited [to] an apprentice for his trade, if scarce an age be sufficient to make a wise man a States man, and commonly a man dies ere he hath learned to be discreet: If perfection be so hard to be obtained, as of necessitie there must bee practice, as well as theorick: Let no man much condemne this paradox opinion, to say, that halfe seauen yeeres is scarce sufficient, for a good capacitie, to learne in these affaires, how to carrie himselfe: and who euer shall trie in these remote places the erecting of a Colony, shall finde at the ende of seauen yeares occasion enough to vse all his discretion: and, in

- [1616] the *Interim* all the content, rewardes, gaines, and hopes will be necessarily required, to be giuen to the beginning, till it bee able to creepe, to stand, and goe, yet time enough to keepe it from running: for there is no feare it wil grow too fast, or euer to any thing; excepte libertie, profit, honor, and prosperitie there found, more binde the planters of those affaires, in deuotion to effect it; then bondage, violence, tyranny, ingratitude and such double dealing, as bindes freemen to become slaues, and honest men [to] turne knaues: which hath euer bin the ruine of the most popular [43] common-weales; and is verie vnlikelie euer well to begin in a new.

[¶ 730.] The blisse of Spaine. Who seeth not what is the greatest good of the *Spaniard*, but these new conclusions, in searching those vnkownne parts of the vnkownne world? Bywhich meanes hee diues euen into the verie secrets of all his Neighbours, and the most part of the world: and when the *Portugale* and *Spaniard* had found the *East* and *West Indies*; how many did condemn themselues, that did not accept of that honest offer of Noble *Columbus*? who, vpon our neglect, brought them to it, perswading our selues the world had no such places as they had found: and yet euer since wee finde, they still (from time to time) haue found new Lands, new Nations, and trades, and still daily dooe finde both in *Asia*, *Africa*, *Terra Incognita*, and *America*; so that there is neither Soldier nor Mechanick, from the Lord to the beggar, but those parts afforde them all imployement; and discharge their Natvie soile, of so many thousands of all sorts, that else, by their sloth, pride, and imperfections, would long ere this haue troubled their neighbours, or haue eaten the pride of *Spaine* it selfe.

Now he knowes little, that knowes not *England* may well spare many more people then *Spaine*, and is as well able to furnish them with all manner of necessaries. And seeing, for all they haue, they cease not still to search for that they haue not, and know not; It is strange we should be so dull, as not [to] maintaine that which wee haue, and pursue that wee [44] know.

Surely I am sure many would taste it ill, to bee abridged of the titles and honours of their predecessors: when if but truly they would iudge themselues; looke how inferior they

are to their noble vertues, so much they are vnworthy of their honours and liuings: which neuer were ordained for showes and shadowes, to maintaine idlenesse and vice; but to make them more able to abound in honor, by heroycall deeds of action, iudgement, pietie, and vertue. What was it, they would not doe both in purse and person, for the good of the Commonwealth? which might moue them presently to set out their spare kindred in these generous designes.

Religion, aboue all things, should moue vs (especially the [p. 73x] Clergie) if wee were religious, to shewe our faith by our workes; in conuerting those poore saluages, to the knowledge of God, seeing what paines the *Spanyards* take to bring them to their adulterated faith. Honor might moue the Gentry, the valiant, and industrious; and the hope and assurance of wealth, all; if wee were that we would seeme, and be accounted. Or be we so far inferior to other nations, or our spiiits so far dejected, from our auncient predecessors, or our mindes so [set] vpon spoile, piracie, and such villany, as to serue the *Portugall, Spanyard, Dutch, French, or Turke*, (as to the cost of *Europe*, too many dooe) rather then our God, our King, our Country, and our selues? excusing our idlenesse, and our base complaints, by want of imploiemt; when heere is such choise of all sorts, and for all degrees, in the planting [45] and discouering these North parts of *America*.

Now to make my words more apparent by my deeds; I was, the last yeare, 1615. to haue staied in the Countrie, to make a more ample triall of those conclusions with sixteene men; whose names were

My second
voyage to
New
England.

<i>Thomas Dyrmir.</i>	Gent.
<i>Edward Stalings.</i>	
<i>Daniel Cage.</i>	Souldiers.
<i>Francis Abbot.</i>	
<i>John Gosling.</i>	
<i>William Ingram.</i>	
<i>Robert Mitcr.</i>	Souldiers.
<i>David Cooper.</i>	

<i>John Partridge.</i>	Souldiers.
<i>and two boies.</i>	
<i>Thomas Dibbie.</i>	Sailers.
<i>Daniel Baker.</i>	
<i>Adam Smith.</i>	
<i>Thomas Watson.</i>	
<i>Walter Chissick.</i>	
<i>John Hall.</i>	

[p. 732.]
[pp. 223, 258,
732, 736, 74^c,
747.]

[1615]

I confesse, I could haue wished them as many thousands, had all other prouisions bin in like proportion : nor would I haue had so fewe, could I haue had meanes for more : yet (would God haue pleased wee had safely arriued) I neuer had the like authoritie, freedom, and prouision, to doe so well. The maine assistance next God, I had to this small number, was my acquaintance among the Saluages ; especially, with *Dohannada*, one of their greatest Lords ; who had liued long in *England*. By the meanes of this proud Saluage, I did not doubt but quickly to haue gotte that credit with the rest of his friends and alliants, to haue had as many of them, as I desired, in any designe I intended ; and that trade also they had, by such a kind of exchange [46] of their Countrie commodities ; whch both with ease and securitie in their seasons may be vsed.

[A 205.]

With him and diuerse others, I had concluded to inhabit, and defend them against the *Terentynes*; with a better power then the *French* did them; whose tyranny did inforce them to imbrace my offer, with no small deuotion.

And though many may thinke me more bolde then wise, in regard to their power, dexteritie, treacherie, and incon-
 stancie; hauing so desperately assaulted and betraied
 many others : I say but this (because with so many, I haue
 many times done much more in *Virginia*, then I intended
 heere, when I wanted that experiance *Virginia* taught me)
 that to mee it seemes no daunger more then ordinarie. And
 though I know my selfe [to be] the meanest of many thou-
 sandes, whose apprehensiue inspection can pearce beyond the
 boundes of my habilitie, into the hidden things of Nature,
 Art, and Reason; yet I intreate such [to] giue me leaue to
 excuse my selfe of so much imbecilitie, as to say, that in these
 eight yeares [1606-1614] which I haue been conuersant with
 these affaires, I haue not learned there is a great difference,
 betwixt the directions and iudgement of experimentall
 knowledge, and the superficiall conjecture of variable
 relation : wherein rumor, humor, or misprision haue such
 power that oft times one is enough to beguile twenty; but
 twentie not sufficient to keep one from being deceiued.
 Therefore I know no reason but to beleue my own eies
 before any mans imagination, that is but wrested from the

[A 733]

conceits of my owne projects, and indeauours. [47] But I honor, with all affection, the counsell and instructions of iudicall directions, or any other honest aduertisement; so farre to obserue, as they tie mee not to the crueltie of vnknowne euent.

[1614]

These are the inducements that thus drew me to neglect all other imployments, and spend my time and best abilities in these aduentures. Wheerin, though I haue had many discouragements by the ingratitudo of some, the malicious slanders of others, the falsenesse of friendes, the trechery of cowards, and slownesse of aduenturers: but chiefly by one *Hunt*, who was Master of the ship, with whom oft arguing these projects for a plantation, howeuer hee seemed well in words to like it, yet he practiced to haue robbed mee of my plots [*maps*], and obseruations, and so to leaue me alone in a desolate Ile, to the fury of famine, and all other extreamities (lest I should haue acquainted Sir *Thomas Smith*, my Honourable good friend, and the Councell of *Virginia*); to the end, he and his associates might secretly ingrosse it, ere it were knowne to the State.

[App 220,
698, 754]

Yet that God that alway hath kept me from the worst of such practices, deliuered me from the worst of his dissimulations.

Notwithstanding after my departure, hee abused the Saluages where hee came, and betrayed twenty seauen of these poore innocent soules, which he soould in *Spaine* for slauess; to mooue their hate against our Nation, as well as to cause my proceedings to be so much the more difficult.

Now, returning in the Bark, in the fift of August [1614], [*App 700,733*] [48] I arriued at Plimouth: where imparting there my purposes to my honourable friend Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, and some others; I was so encouraged, and assured to haue the managing their authoritie in those parts, during my life, that I ingaged my selfe to vndertake it for them.

Arriuing at London, I found also many promise me such assistance, that I entertained *Michaell Cooper* the Master, who returned with mee, and others of the company. How hee dealt with others, or others with him, I know not: But my publike proceeding gaue such incouragement, that it became so well apprehended by some fewe of the Southren

- [1615] Company, as these projects were liked, and he furnished from London with four ships at Sea, before they at Plimouth had made any provision at all, but only a ship cheefely set out by Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*; which, upon Hunts late trecherie among the Saluages, returned as she went, and did little or nothing, but lost her time.

*I must confesse I was beholden to the setters forth of the four ships that went with Cooper; in that they offered mee that imployment if I would accept it: and I finde, my refusall hath incurred some of their displeasures, whose fauor and loue I exceedingly desire, if I may honestly injoy it. And though they doe censure me as opposite to their proceedings; they shall yet still in all my words and deedes finde, it is their error, not my fault, that occasions their dislike. For hauing ingaged my selfe in this businesse to the West Countrie; I had beene verie dishonest to haue [49] broke my promise; nor will I spend more time in discouerie or fishing, till I may goe with a companie for plantation: for, I know my grounds. Yet euery one that reades this booke can not put it in practice; though it may helpe any that haue seene those parts. And though they endeauour to woike me euen out of my owne designes, I will not much enuy their fortunes: but, I would bee sory, their intruding ignorance should, by their defailements, bring those certainties to doubtfulnessse. So that the businesse prosper, I haue my desire; be it by *Londoner*, *Scot*, *Welch*, or *English*, that are true subiects to our King and Countrey: the good of my Countrey is that I seeke; and there is more then enough for all, if they could bee content but to proceed.*

The occa-
sion of my
returne.

At last it pleased Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, and Master Doctor *Sut[c]liffe*, Deane of *Exeter*, to conceiue so well of these projects, and my former imployments, as induced them to make a new aduenture with me in those parts, whither they haue so often sent to their continuall losse. By whose example, many inhabitants of the West Country, made promises of much more then was looked for, but their priuate emulations quickly qualified that heat in the greater number; so that the burden lay principally on them, and some few Gentlemen, my friends, in *London*.

In the end I was furnished with a Ship of 200. and another of 50 [tons]. But ere I had sayled 120 leagues, shee broke all her masts; pumping each watch 5 or 6000 strokes: onely her spret saile [50] remayned to spoon before the wind, till we had reaccommodated her a Iury mast, and the rest, to returne for *Plimouth*. [p. 73.]

[1615]

My Vice-admirall beeing lost [*i.e., lost sight of*], not knowing of this, proceeded [on] her voyage.

Now with the remainder of those prouisions, I got out again in a small Barke of 60 tuns with 30 men (for this of 200, and prouision for 70); which were the 16 before named [p. 217], and 14 other saylors for the ship.

My reembarkment,
incounters
with pyrates
and impri-
sonment by
the French.

With those I set saile againe the 24 of Iune [1615]: where what befell me (because my *actions* and *writings* are so publicke to the world, enuy still seeking to scandalize my indeauours, and seeing no power but death can stop the chat of ill tongues, nor imagination of mens mindes) lest my owne relations of those hard euents, might by some constructors, be made doubtfull, I haue thought it best to insert the examinations of those proceedings, taken by Sir *Lewis Stukley* a worthie Knight, and Vice-admirall of Deuonshire; which were as followeth.

*The examination of Daniel Baker, late Steward
to Captaine Iohn Smith in the returne of
Plimouth; taken before Sir Lewis
Stukley Knight, the eight of
December 1615.*

WHo saith, being chased two dayes by one *Fry*, an English Pyrate, that could not board vs, by reason of foule weather, *Edmund Chambers* the Master, *Iohn Minter* his mate, *Thomas Digby* the Pilot, and others importuned his saide Captaine to yeeld; houlding it vnpossible hee should defend [51] himselfe: and that the saide Captaine should send them his boat, in that they had none: which at last he concluded vpon these conditions, That *Fry* the Pyrate should vow not to take any thing from Captaine *Smith*, that might

Captaine
Fry his ship
140 tuns, 36
cast peeces
and mur-
deirs, 80
men, of
which 40, or
50 were
mister
gunners

[1615]

overthrowe his voyage, nor send more Pirats into his ship then hee liked off; otherwaies, he would make sure of them he had, and defend himselfe against the rest as hee could.

More: he confesseth that the quarter-masters and Chambers receiued golde of those Pirats; but how much, he knoweth not: Nor would his Captain come out of his Caben to entertaine them; although a great many of them had beeene his saylers, and for his loue would haue wafted vs to the Iles of *Flowers*.

[p. 735]
The one of
200, the
other 20
[tuns]

At *Fyall*, wee were chased by two French Pyrats, who commanded vs Amaine. Chambers, Minter, Digby and others, importuned againe the Captaine to yeeld; alledging they were *Turks*, and would make them all slauies: or *Frenchmen*, and would throw them all ouer Board if they shot but a peece; and that they were entertained to fish, and not to fight; vntill the Captaine vowed to fire the powder and split the ship, if they would not stand to their defence; whereby at last wee went cleere of them, for all their shot.

The Ad-
min ill 140
tuns, 12
peeces, 12
murderes,
90 men,
with long
pistols,
pocket pis-
tols, mus-
kets, [s],
sword[s] and
poniard[s],
the Vice-ad-
mirall, 100
tuns, the
Rere-ad-
miral 60; the
other 80
[tuns] all
had 250
men most[ly]
aimed as is
said

At *Flowers*, wee were chased by foure French men of warre; all with their close fights afore and after. And this examinants Captaine hauing provided for our defence, Chambers, Minter, Digby, [52] and some others, againe importuned him to yeeld to the fauour of those, against whom there was nothing but ruine by fighting: But if he would goe aboard them, in that hee could speak *French*, by curtesie hee might goe cleere; seeing they offered him such faire quarter, and vowed they were Protestants, and all of *Rochell*, and had the Kings commission onely to take *Spaniards*, *Portugales*, and Pyrats; which at last hee did; but they kept this examinates Captaine and some other of his company with him.

The next day the French men of warre went aboard vs, and tooke what they listed, and diuided the company into their seuerall ships, and manned this examinates ship with the Frenchmen, and chased with her all the shippes they saw: vntill about fife or sixe dayes after, vpon better consideration, they surrendered the ship and victualls, with the most part of our prouision, but not our weapons.

More: he confesseth that his Captaine exhorted them

to performe their voyage, or goe for *New found Land* to returne fraughted with fish, where hee would finde meanes to proceed in his plantation: but *Chambers* and *Minter* grew vpon tearms they would not; vntill those that were Souldiers concluded with their Captaines resolution, they would; seeing they had clothes, victualls, salt, nets, and lines sufficient, and expected their armes, and such other things as they wanted, [which] the French men promised to restore.

[1615]

The gentle
men and
souldiers
were eue.
willing to
fight •

Which the Captaine the next day went to seeke, and sent them about loading of [53] commodities, as powder, match, hookes, instruments, his sword and dagger, bedding, aqua vitae, his commission, apparell, and many other things; the particulars he remembreth not: But, as for the cloath, canuas, and the Captaines cloathes, *Chambers*, and his associates diuided it amongst themselues, and to whom they best liked; his Captaine not hauing any thing, to his knowledge, but his wastecoeat and breeches.

And in this manner going from ship to ship, to regaine our armes and the rest, they seeing a sayle, gaue chase vntill night.

The next day, being very foule weather, this examinate came so neere with the ship vnto the French men of warre, that they split the maine sayle on the others spret sayle yard. *Chambers* willed the Captaine come aboard, or he would leaue him: whereupon the Captaine commanded *Chambers* to send his boate for him. *Chambers* replyed she was split (which was false), telling him hee might come if he would in the Admiralls boat.

The Captaines answer was, he could not command her, nor come when hee would; so this examinate fell on sterne; and that night left his said Captaine alone amongst the French men, in this maner, by the command of *Chambers*, *Minter*, and others.

Daniel Cage, Edward Stalings, Gentlemen; Walter Chissell, Dauid Cooper, Robert Miller, and John Partridge, beeing examined, doe acknowledge and confesse, that *Daniel Baker* his examination aboue written is true. [54]

[pp. 258, 732]
736, 746]

[1615]
[p 736]
A double
treachery.

Now the cause why the French detayned me againe, was the suspicion, this *Chambers* and *Minter* gaue them that I would reuenge my selfe, vpon the Bank, or in *New found Land*, of all the French I could there encounter; and how I would haue fired the ship, had they not ouerperswaded mee: and many other such like tricks to catch but opportunie in this maner to leaue me. And thus they returned to *Plimouth*, and perforce with the French I proceeded.

A fleet of
nine French
men of war
and fightes
with the
Spaniards.

Being a Fleet of eight or nine sayle, we watched for the *West Indies* fleet, till ill weather sepaiated vs from the other 8. Still we spent our time about the Iles neere *Fyall*: where to keepe my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate, I writ this discourse; thinking to haue sent it [to] you of his Maiesties Councell, by some ship or other: for I saw their purpose was to take all they could.

At last we were chased by one Captain *Barra* an English Pyrat, in a small ship with some twelue peeces of ordinance, about thirty men, and neer all starued. They sought by curtesie releefe of vs; who gaue them such faire promises, as at last wee betrayed Captaine *Wolliston* (his Lieutenant) and foure or fие of their men aboard vs, and then prouided to take the rest perforce.

[p 737]

Now my part was to be prisoner in the gun roum, and not to speake to any of them vpon my life. Yet had *Barra* knowledge what I was. Then *Barra* perceiuing wel these French intents, made ready to fight; and *Wolliston* as resolutely regarded not their threats: [55] which caused vs [to] demurre vpon the matter longer, som[e] sixteene houres; and then returned their prisoners, and some victualls also, vpon a small composition.

The next wee tooke was a small English man of *Poole* from *New found Land*. The great caben, at this present, was my prison; from whence I could see them pillage those poore men of all that they had, and halfe their fish: when hee was gone, they sould his poore cloathes at the maine mast, by an outcry, which scarce gaue each man seauen pence a peece.

Not long after, we tooke a *Scot* fraught from *Saint*

Michaels to Bristol: he had better fortune then the other. For, hauing but taken a boats loading of sugar, maimelade, suckets, and such like: we discried foure sayle, after whom we stood; who forling [furling] their maine sayles attended vs to fight. But our *French* spirits were content onely to perceiue they were *English* red crosses.

[1615]

Within a very small time after, wee chased foure *Spanish* shippes [that] came from the *Indies*: we fought with them foure or fve houres, tore their sayles and sides: yet not daring to board them, lost them.

A poore Caruell of *Brasile*, was the next we chased: and after a small fight, thirteene or fourteen of her men being wounded, which was the better halfe; we took her, with 370 chests of sugar.

A prize
worth 16000
crownes

The next was a *West Indies* man, of 160 tuns, with 1200 hides, 50 chests of cutchanell, 14 coffers of wedges of siluer, 8000 ryalls of 8, and six coffers of the King of *Spaines* treasure; besides the pillage and rich coffers of many rich passengers.

A prize
worth
20000
crownes.
1 p. 73⁸.

Two [56] monethes [Aug.-Oct. 1615] they kept me in this manner, to manage their fights against the *Spaniards*, and be a prisoner when they tooke any *English*. Now though the Captaine had oft broke his promise, which was to put me a-shore on the Iles [*Azores*], or the next ship he tooke: yet at last, he was intreated [persuaded] I should goe for *France* in the Caruell of sugar; himself [being] resolued still to keepe the Seas.

Within two dayes after, we were ha[i]led by two *West Indy* men: but when they saw vs wawe them for the King of *France*, they gaue vs their broad sides, shot through our mayne mast, and so left vs.

Hauing liued thus, neer three moneths [Aug.-Nov. 1615] among those French men of warre; with much adoe, we arriuied at the *Gulion*, not far from *Rochel*; where in stead of the great promises they alwaies fed me with, of double satisfaction, and full content, they kept me fve or sixe daies prisoner in the Caruell: accusing me to bee him that burnt their Colony in *New France*; to force mee giue them a discharge before the Judge of the Admiralty, and so stand to their curtesie for satisfaction, or lie in prison, or a worse mischiefe.

[1615]

My escape
from the
French
men.

[A. 739]

To preuent this choise, in the end of such a stoime that beat them all vnder Hatches, I watched my opportunity to get a-shore in their boat; where-into, in the darke night, I secretly got: and with a halfe pike that lay by me, put a drift for *Rat Ile*: but the Current was so strong, and the Sea so great, I went a drift to Sea, till it pleased God the winde so turned with the tide, that although I was, all this fearefull night of gusts and raine, in the Sea, the space of 12 [57] houres, when many ships were driuen a shore, and diuerse split (and being with sculling and bayling the water tired, I expected each minute would sinke mee) at last I arriued in an oazie Ile by *Charowne*; where certaine fowlers found mee neere drowned, and halfe dead, with water, colde, and hunger.

By those, I found meanes to gette to *Rochell*; where I vnderstoode the man of warre which we left at Sea, and the rich prize was split; the Captaine drowned, and halfe his companie the same night, within seauen leagues of that place, from whence I escaped alone, in the little boate, by the mercy of God; far beyond all mens reason, or my expectation.

Arriuing at *Rochell*, vpon my complaint to the Judge of the Admiraltie, I founde many good words and faire promises; and ere long many of them that escaped drowning, tolde mee the newes they heard of my owne death: these I arresting, their seuerall examinations did so confirme my complaint, it was held prooef sufficient.

All which being performed according to the order of iustice, from vnder the iudges hand; I presented it to the English Ambassador then at *Burdeaux*: where it was my chance to see the arriuall [21 Nov. 1615] of the Kings great mariage brought from *Spaine*.

They betraied mee hauing the broad seale of England and neete twentie styele of English men, besides them concealed, in like manner were betrayed that year [A. 740]

Of the wrack of the rich prize some 36000. crownes worth of goods came a shore and was sau'd with the Caruell, which I did my best to arrest: the Judge did promise me I shold haue iustice; what will bee the conclusion as yet [June 1616], I know not. But vnder the colour to take Pirats and West-Indie men (because the *Spaniards* will not [58] suffer the *French* trade in the West-Indies) any goods from thence, tho[u]gh they take them vpon the Coast of *Spaine*, are lawfull prize; or from any of his territories out of the limits of Europe.

Sir Thomas
Edmunds.

Leauing thus my businesse in *France*, I returned [Dec. 1615] [1615-6] to *Plimouth*, to find them that had thus buried me amongst the *French*: and not onely buried mee, but with so much infamy as such treacherous cowards could suggest to excuse their villanies. But my clothes, booke, instruments, Armes, and what I had, they shared amongst them, and what they liked; fayning, the French had all [that] was wanting: and had throwne them into the Sea, taken their ship, and all; had they not runne away and left me as they did.

My returne
for England
1615.

The cheftaines of this mutinie that I could finde, I laied by the heeles; the rest, like themselues, confessed the truth as you haue heard [p. 221].

Now how I haue or could preuent these accidents, I rest at your censures. But to the matter.



Newfound-land at the first, I haue heard, was held as desperate a fishing, as this I project in *New England*; *Placentia*, and the *Banke*, were also as doubtful to the *French*: But, for all disasters [that have] happened [to] mee, the businesse is the same as it was: and the fve ships (whereof one was reported more then three hundred tunnes) went forward; and found fish so much, that neither Izeland-men, nor Newfoundland-men, [that] I could heare of hath beene there, will goe any more to either place, if they may goe thither.

So, that vpon the returne of my Viceadmirall that proceeded on her voyage when I spent my [59] masts [p. 221]; from *Plimouth* this yeare [1616] are gone foure or fve saile: and from *London* as many; onely to make voyages of profit: where[as] the Englishmen haue yet beene, all their returnes together (except Sir Fr. *Popham*) would scarce make one a sauier of neere a douzen I could nominate; though there

The suc-
cesses of my
vice-Ad-
mirall and
the foure
ships of
London,
from *New
England*.
[p. 74: 1]

- 6] be fish sufficient, as I perswade my selfe, to fraught yearly
foure or fife hundred sayle, or as many as will goe.

For this fishing stretcheth along the Coast from *Cape Cod* to *Newfound-land*, which is seauen or eight hundered milcs at the least; and hath his course in the deepes, and by the shore, all the yeare long; keeping their ha[u]nts and feedings as the beasts of the field, and the birds of the aire. But, all men are not such as they should bee, that haue vndertaken those voyages: and a man that hath but heard of an instrument, can hardly vse it so well as hee that by vse hath contriued to make it. All the *Romanes* were not *Scipioes*: nor all the *Geneweses*, *Columbuses*: nor all *Spanyards*, *Corteses*: had they diuid no deeper in the secrets of their discoueries then wee, or stopped at such doubts and poore accidentall chanches; they had neuer beene remembered as they are; yet had they no such certainties to begin as wee.

But, to conclude, *Adam* and *Eue* did first beginne this innocent worke, To plant the earth to remaine to posteritie, but not without labour, trouble, and industrie. *Noe*, and his family, beganne againe the second plantation; and their seede as it still increased, hath still planted new Countries, and one countrie another: and so the world to that estate it is. But [60] not without much hazard, trauell, discontents, and many disasters. Had those worthie Fathers, and their memorable off-spring not beene more diligent for vs now in these Ages, then wee are to plant that yet vnplanted, for the after liuers: Had the seede of *Abraham*, our Sauiour Christ, and his Apostles, exposed themselves to no more daungers to teach the Gospell, and the will of God then wee; Euen wee our selues, had at this present beene as Saluage, and as miserable as the most barbarous Saluage yet vnciuilized.

The *Hebrewes*, and *Lacedæmonians*, the *Goths*, the *Grecians*, the *Romanes*, and the rest, what was it they would not vndertake to inlarge their Territories, enrich their subiects, resist their enemies? Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no siluered idle golden *Pharises*, but industrious iron-steeld *Publicans*: They regarded more prouisions, and necessaries for their

people, then iewels, riches, ease, or delight for themselues. Riches were their seruants, not their Maisters. They ruled (as Fathers, not as Tyrantes) their people as children, not as slaues; there was no disaster could discourage them; and let none thinke they incountered not with all manner of incumbrances. And what haue euer beene the workes of the greatest Princes of the earth, but planting of countries, and ciuilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations, to ciuilite and humanitie? whose eternall actions, fill our histories. Lastly, the *Portugales* and *Spanyards*: whose euerliuing actions, before our eyes will [61] testifie with them our idlenesse, and ingratitudo to all posterities, and the neglect of our duties in our pietie and religion we owe our God, our King, and Countrie; and want of charity to these poore saluages, whose Countrie wee challenge, vse and possesse; excepte wee bee but made to vse, and marre what our Fore-fathers made, or but onely tell what they did, or esteeme ourselues too good to take the like paines. Was it vertue in them, to prouide that doth maintaine vs? and basenesse for vs to doe the like for others? Surely no.

Then seeing we are not borne for our selues, but each to helpe other, and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth, and the minute of our death: Seeing our good deedes, or our badde, by faith in Christs merits, is all we haue to carrie our soules to heauen, or hell: Seeing honour is our liues ambition; and our ambition after death, to haue an honourable memorie of our life: and sceing by

noe meanes wee would bee abated of the dignities

and glories of our Predecessors; let

vs imitate their vertues to

bee worthily their

successors.

[¶ 936.1]

F I N I S .

*At London printed the 18. of June, in the yeere
of our Lord 1616.*

[1616]

[A. 621.]

To his worthy Captaine, the Author.

[1616]



*Ft thou hast led, when I brought vp the Rere
In bloodie wars, where thousands haue bin slaine.*

*Then giue mee leaue, in this some part to beare ;
And as thy seruant, heere to read my name.*

*Tis true, long time thou hast my Captaine beene
In the fierce wars of Transiluania :*

*Long ere that thou America hadst scene,
Or led wast captiued in Virginia ;*

*Thou that to passe the worlds foure parts dost deeme
No more, then t'were to goe to bed, or drinke,*

*And all thou yet hast done, thou dost esteeme
As nothing. This doth cause mee thinke*

*That thou I'auē scene so oft approu'd in dangers
(And thrice captiued, thy valor still hath ficed)*

*Art yet preserued, to conuert those strangers :
By God thy guide ; I trust it is decreed.*

*For mee : I not commend, but much admire
Thy England yet unknowne to passers by-her.*

*For it will praise it selfe in spight of me ;
Thou it, it thou, to all posteritie*

Your true friend,

and souldier,

Ed. Robinson.

[Ensign Carlton and Sergeant Robinson, both of Captain Smith's own escaped alive from the battle of Rottenton [*the Pass of Rothenthurm*, Nov. 1602; see pp. 851-2.]

To my honest Captaine, the Author.

[A 692.]



*Alignant Times ! What can be said or don,
But shall be censur'd and traduc't by some !
This worthy Work, which thou hast bought so dear,
Ne thou, nor it, Detractors neede to fear.*

[1616]

*Thy words by decdes so long thou hast approu'd,
Of thousands knowe thee not thou art belou'd.*

*And this great Plot will make thee ten times more
Knowne and beleu'd, than ere thou wert before.*

*I neuer knew a Warryer yet, but thee,
From wine, Tobacco, debts, dice, oaths, so free.*

*I call thee Warrier : and I make the bolder ;
For, many a Captaine now, was neuer Souldier.*

*Some such may swell at this : but (to their praise)
When they haue don like thee, my Muse shall raiſſe
Their due deserts to Worthies yet to come,
To liue like thine (admir'd) till day of Doome.*

Your true friend,
somtimes your soldier,

THO. CARLTON.

[The additional page only found in some copies.]



[p. 699.]

Because the Bookewas printeder the Prince his Highnesse had altered the names, I intreat the Reader, peruse this sche- dule; which will plainly shew him the correspondence of the old names to the new.

[Compare
with List at
pp. 699-700.]

{
[p. 204,
206, 232,
276, 718,
720, 853,
855, 866]

The old names.	The new.	The old names.	The new.
Cape Cod	Cape Iames	Sowocatuck	Ipswitch
[Cape Cod Harbour]	Milford hauen	Bahana	Dartmou' b
Charuum	Barwick		Sandwich
Accomack	Plimouth	Ancocisco's Mount	Shooters hill
Sagoquas	Oxford	Ancocisco	The Base
Massachusets Mount	Cheut hill	Anmoughcarwen	Cambridge
Massachusets Riuer	Charles Riuer	Kinebeck	Edenborough
Totant	Fawmouth	Sagadabock	Leeth
A Country not discouer'd	Bristol	Pemmaquid	S. Johns towne
Naemkeck	Bastable	Monahigan	[:] Barties Iles
Cape Trabigzanda	Cape Anne	Segocket	Norwich
Agawom	Southhampton	Matinnack	[*] Willowby's Iles
Smith's Iles	Smith's Iles	Metinnicus	[*] Hoghton's Iles
Passataquack	Hull	Mecadacut	Dunbarton
Accominicucus	Boston	Pennobscot	Abord'en
Saffanowes Mount	Sno[w]don hill	Nusket	Lowmonds

[* These three named by Captain J. Smith, and not by Prince Charles: see / 700.]

NEW
ENGLANDS
TRIALS.

Declaring the successe of 26. Ships
employed thither within these sixe yeares:

*with the benefit of that Countrey by sea and
land: and how to build threescore sayle
of good Ships, to make a little
Navie Royall.*

Written by Captaine
John Smith.



LONDON,
Printed by *VVilliam Jones.*
1620.

[It is evident from SMITH's letter &c. printed at p. cxxi, that the substance of this tract was written so early as 1618]

It was thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall :

ii December [1620]

William Jones Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of Master Doctor GOADE and Master Lownes warden,
A booke Called *Newe Englands tryall*, by IOHN SMITH.
vjd

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D., Ed. by E ARBER, iv. 43, 1877.

For the bibliography of this tract, see p. cxvx

It was, in the first instance, written to the Peers of the realm. "I present this vnto your Lordship, and to all the Lords in *England*, hoping (by your gracious good liking and approbation) to moue all the worthy Companies of this noble City, and all the cities and Countries in the whole Land to consider it." p. 247.

Other copies were afterwards struck off with the dedication to the Fishmongers Company at p. 236.

Our Author says, in 1624.

"Now all these proofes and this relation I now call *New-Englands triall*. I caused two or three thousand of them to be printcd : one thousand with a great many Maps both of *Virginia* and *New-England*, I presented to thirty of the chiefe Companies in *London* at their Halls desiring either generally or particularly (them that would) to imbrace it . . .

"Neere a yeere [1621] I spent to vnderstand their resolutions, which was to me a greater toile and torment than to haue been in *New-England* about my businesse but with bread and water, and what I could get there by my labour; but in conclusion, seeing nothing would be effected, I was contented as well with this losse of time and charge as all the rest," p. 748.

And again, in 1630.

"Yet for all this, in all this time [1616-1621], though I had divulged to my great labour, cost, and losse, more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps, and moved the particular Companies in *London*, as also Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants for a Plantation, all availed no more than to hew Rocks with Oister-shels ; so fiest were the living abuses of *Virginia* and the Summer Iles in their memories," p. 941.

Within four months of the publication of this tract, our indefatigable Author had already planned out the *General History*, see p. cxvx.

Mr. CHARLES DEANE, in the Preface to his fifty-copy reprint of this tract, in 1873, states—

"On my first visit to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in 1866, the first book I asked to look at was HARIOT's *Virginia*, 1588 ; and the second was the first edition of Captain JOHN SMITH's *New England Trials*, 1620 ; both of which I had understood to be in that library. These books are of exceeding rarity ; and though the British Museum also has a copy of each, I am not aware that either can be found in this country [*the United States*]."]



[Dedicatorie Epistle in the Bodleian copy.]

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND

Worthy aduenters to all discoueries and
Plantations, espetially to New
England.

[1620]

JO the consideration of your fauourable constructions I present these sixe yeares continued trials from New England: if you please to peruse them, and make vse of them, I am richly rewarded. The subiect deserueth a farre better habit, but it is as good as the father can giue it. Let not therefore a souldiers plainnesse cause you refuse to accept it, how euer you please to dispose of him, that humbly sacreth himselfe and best abilities to his Countries good, and the exquisite iudgement of your renowned perfections.

Yours to command,
John Smith.



[Dedicatory Epistle in British Museum copy, C. 33 c. 15.]

TO THE RIGHT
WORSHIPFUL THE
Maister, the Wardens, and
the Companie of the
Fish-mongers.

[1620]

JO the consideration of your fauourable constructions I present these sixe yeares continued trials from New England: if you please to peruse them, and make vse of them, I am richly rewarded. The subiect deserueth a farre better habit, but it is as good as the father can giue it. Let not therefore a souldiers plainnesse cause you refuse to accept it, how euer you please to dispose of him, that humbly sacreth himselfe and best abilities to his Countries good, and the exquisite iudgement of your renowned perfections.

Yours to command,

John Smith.



NEVV ENGLANDS Trials.



New England is a part of America betwixt the degrees of 41. and 45. the very meane betwixt the North Pole and the Line.

[1614]

[pp. 192, 255,
706, 938]

From 43. to 45. the coast is mountainous, rockie, barren and broken Iles that make many good harbours. The water is deepe close to the shoare; there are many riuers and fresh springs: few Saluages, but an incredible abundance of fish, fowle, wilde fruits, and good timber.

From 43. to 41. and halfe, an excellent mixed coast of stone, sand, and clay: much corne, many people, some Iles, many good harbours, a temperate ayre, and therein all things necessarie for the building [of] ships of any proportion, and good merchandize for their fraughts; within a square of twelue leagues 25. harbours I sounded, thirtie seuerall Lordships I sawe, and so neare as I could imagine, three thousand men. I was vp one riuier fortie miles, crossed the mouths of many, whose heads are reported to be great Lakes; where they kill their Beuers; inhabited with many people, who trade with those of New England, and them of Cannada.

[1577-
1614]

*The benefite of Fishing, as that famous Philosopher
Master Dee reporteth in his Brittish
Monarchie [1577 A.D.]*

[1/1 254,
743]

He saith, that more then forty foure yeares agoe [*i.e.*, by 1577], the Herring Busses out of the Low-countries, vnder the King of *Spaine*, were fife hundred, besides one hundred Frenchmen, and three or foure hundred saile of Flemings.

The coasts of *Wales* and *Lankashire* was vsed by three hundred sayle of strangers.

Ireland at *Baltemore* fraughted yerely three hundred sayle of Spaniards, where King *Edward* the sixt intended to haue made a strong Castell, because of the straite, to haue tribute for fishing.

Black Rocke was yearly fished by three or foure hundred sayle of Spaniards, Portugalls, and Biskiners.

Master [Tobias] Gentleman [of *Yarmouth*] and
many Fisher-men and Fishmongers, with
whom I haue conferred, report :

[1/1 197]

The Hollanders raise yearly [*i.e.*, in 1620] by Herrings, Cod, and Ling, 300000 pounds [*i.e.*, sterling].

English and French, by Salt-fish, poore John, Salmons, and Pilchards, 300000. pounds.

[1/1 744]

Hambrough and the Sound, for Sturgeon, Lobsters and Eeles, 100000 pounds.

Cape Blanke, Tunny and Mullit by the Biskiners and Spaniards, 30000. pounds.

But diuers other learned experienced Observers say,
though it may seeme incredible :

That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yearlye tribute, of the Fishers of *Tunny*, *Mullit*, and *Purgos*, more than 10000. pounds.

Lubeck hath seuen hundred shippes : *Hambrough* sixe hundred : *Embden* [but] lately a fisher towne, 1400 : whose customes by the profit of fishing hath made them so powerfull as they be.

Holland and *Ze[a]land*, not much greater then *Yorkshire*, hath thirty walled townes, 400. villages, and 20000. sayle of ships and hoyes ; 3600 [*i.e.*, vessels] are fishermen,

whereof 100 are Dog[gers], 700. Pinckes and Welbotes, 700. frand boies, 400. Enaces, 400. Galbotes, Britters and To[a]debotes, with 1300. Busses; besides three hundred that yearly fish about Yarmouth, where they sell their fish for gold; and 15. years agoe [in 1605] they had more then 116000 Sea-faring men.

[1620]

These fishing ships do take yearly 200000. Last of fish, 12. barrells to a Last; which amounteth to 3000000. pounds [*i.e., sterling*] by the Fishermens price, that 14. yeres agoe [1606] did pay for their tenths 300000. pound; which venting in *Pomerland, Sprusland, Denmarke, Lefland, Russia, Suehland, Germany, Netherlands, England*, or elsewhere, &c. make their returnes in a yeare about 7000000. pounds; and yet in *Holland* they haue neither matter to build shippes, nor merchandize to set them foorth, yet they as much encrease as other Nations decay

But leauing these vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine:

That the coast of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, the north Sea, with *Island*, and the Sound, New-found land, and Cape Blancke, doe serue all *Europe*, as well the land Townes as Portes; and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of Staple fish which is transported, from whence it is taken, many a thousand mile, *viz.*

<i>Herring.</i>
<i>Salt-fish.</i>
<i>poore John.</i>
<i>Sturgion.</i>
<i>Mullit.</i>
<i>Tunny.</i>
<i>Porgos.</i>
<i>Caviare.</i>
<i>Buttargo.</i>

[p. 745]

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most paire of them, may be had in a land more fertile, temperate, and plentifull of all necessaries for the building of ships, boates and houses; and the nourishment of man: the seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neare the habitations wee may there make, that *New England* hath much aduantage of the most of those parts, to serue all *Europe* farre cheaper then they can, who at home haue neither wood, salt, nor food, but at great rates; at Sea, nothing but what they carry in their shippes, an hundred or two hundred leagues from their habitation.

But *New Englands* fishings [are] neare land, where is helpe of wood, water, fruites, fowles, corne, or other refresh-

[1614-5] ings needfull ; and the *Terceras, Mederas, Canaries, Spaine, Portugall, Prouance, Sauoy, Sicilia, and all Italy*, as convenient markets for our dry Fish, greene Fish, Sturgeon, Mullit, Caviare, and Buttargo, as *Norway, Swethland, Lituania, or Germany*, for their *Herring* (which is here also in abundance, for taking) : They returning but wood, pitch, tarre, soape-ashes, cordage, flaxe, waxe, and such like commodities. We, wines, oyles, sugars, silkes, and such merchandizes as the Straites [i.e., of *Gibraltar*] affoord, whereby our profites may equalize theirs ; besides the increase of shipping and Mariners.

[¶ 256] And for proofe hereof.

Proofe 1. With two shippes I went from the Downes, the third of
 1614. March [1614], and arriued in New England; the last of
 [¶ 256, 697, 891, 936] April. I had but fortie fve men and boyes ; we built seuen
 boates, 37. did fish ; my selfe with eight others ranging the
 coast. I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of
 the inhabitants, eleuen hundred beuer skinnes, one hundred
 Martens, and as many Otters [i.e., skins] ; fortie thousand of
 dry fish we sent for Spaine ; with the salt-fish, treine oyle and
 furres, I returned for England the 18. of July, and arriued
 safe with my company the latter end of August. Thus in sixe
 moneths I made my voyage, out and home [i.e., made a suc-
 cessful voyage], and by the labour of 45. got neare the valem
 of fifteene hundred pounds in those grosse commodities.

This yeare also one went from Plimmouth, spent his victuall,
 and returned with nothing.

Proofe 2. The Londoners, vpon this, sent foure good shippes, and because
 1615. I would not undertake it for them, haing ingaged my selfe to
 [¶ 259, 731, 733] them of the West, the Londoners entertained [engaged] the
 men that came home with me. They set sayle in January [1615],
 and arriued there in March : they found fish enough vntill halfe
 Iime, fraughted a shippe of three hundred Tunnes ; [which]
 went for Spaine with drie fish, which was taken by the Turkes :
 one went to Virginia, to relieve that Collony ; and two came
 for England, with the greene fish, treine oyle, and furres, within
 sixe moneths.

Proofe 3. With a labyrinth of trouble I went from Plimmouth, with
 1615. [¶ 220, 257, 731.] a shippe of two hundred Tunnes, and one of fiftie ; but ill-

weather breaking all my mastes, I was forced to returne to [1615-8] Plimmouth: where re-imbarking my selfe in a ship of thre^e [pp. 733, 745
937] score tunnes, how I escaped the English Pirats, and the French,
and was betrayed by foure Frenchmen of warre, I referre you
to the Description of New England [pp. 217-227]; but my
Vice-Admirall [the second ship], notwithstanding the latenesse [p. 227.]
of the yeare, setting forth with me in March [1615] (the
Londoners in January) she arriuied in May (they in March,) yet
came home well fraught in August, and all her men well,
within five moneths [and] odde dayes.

The Londoners, ere I returned from France [Dec. 1615],
for all their losse by the Turkes (which was valedewd about
foure thousand pounds), sent two more in July [1615]; but
such courses they tooke by the Canaries to the west Indies, it
was ten moneths ere they arriuied in New England [May 1616],
wasting in that time, their seasons, virtuall, and healths: yet
there they found meanes to refresh themselues; and the one
returned neere fraught with fish and traine [oil], within two
moneths after [July 1616].

From Plimmouth went foure ships, onely to fish and trade,
some in February, some in March: one, of two hundred tunnes,
got thither in a moneth, and went full fraught for Spaine; the
rest returned to Plimouth well fraught, and their men well,
within 5 months [and] odde daies.

From London went two more, one of 220. tunnes, got
thither in sixe weekes; and within sixe weekes after, with fortie
foure men and boyes, was full fraught, and returned againe
into England within five months and a few dayes: the other
went to the Canaries with dry fish, which they sold at a great
rate, for roylls of eight, and (as I heard) turned Pirates.

I being at Plimouth, prouided with three good shippes, was
wind-bound three months, as was many a hundred sayle more;
so that the season being past, the shippes went for New-found-
land: whereby my desseigne was frustrate; which was to me
and my friends, no small losse.

There was foure good shippes prepared at Plimouth; but by
reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely two
went forward: the one, being two hundred tunnes, returned
well fraught to Plimouth, and her men in health, within five
moneths; the other, of foure score [tuns], went for Bilbow
with dry fish, and made a good returne.

Proofe 4
1616
[p. 937]

Proofe 5
1616.

Proofe 6
1616

Proofe 7
1617
[p. 940]

Proofe 8
1618
[pp. 258, 746]

[p. 941]

[1619-20] This year againe, diuers shippes intending to go from Plim-
 mouth, so disagreed, as there went but one of 200. tuns: who
 stayed in the Countrey about six weekes, with thirty-eight men
 and boyes; had her fra[u]ght, which she sold at the first penny
 for 2100. pounds, besides the furres; so that every poore Sayler,
 that had but a single share, had his charges, and sixteene
 pound ten shillings for his seuen moneths worke: but some of
 the company say, for sixe months in the Hercules, they receeued
 seuenteen pound two shillings a share.

Proofe 10
 1620
 [p 259] For to make triall this yeare, there is gone six or seuen sayle
 from the west Countrey, onely to fish, three of which are
 returned; and (as I am certainly informed) haue made so
 good a voyage, that euery Sayler for a single share had twenty
 [pp. 748, 941] pounds for his seuen moneths worke, which is more then in
 twenty moneths he should haue gotten, had he gone for wages
 any where.

For this next
 yeare 1621
 it is re-
 ported 12.
 or 20 saule
 is a pre-
 paring
 Now though all the former ships haue not made such good
 v[oy]ages as they expected, by sending opiniated vnskilfull men,
 that had not experienced diligence, to saue that they tooke, nor
 take that there was; which now patience and practise both
 brought to a reasonable kinde of perfection, in despite of all
 Detractors and Calumniations, the Countrey yet hath satisfied
 all, the defect hath beene in their vsing or abusing it, not in
 it selfe, nor me.

[p. 266]
 Heere I entreate your Honourable leaues to answer
 [pp. 771, 41] some obiections. Many do thinke it strange, if this be
 true, I haue made no more vse of it, and rest so long
 without employmēt. And I thinke it more strange they
 should tax me before they haue tried what I haue done,
 both by Sea and Land, as well in Asia, and Affrica, as
 Europe and America.

These fourteene yeres [1606-1620] I haue spared neither
 pains nor money, according to my abilitie, in the dis-
 couery of Norumbega; where with some thirty seauen
 men and boyes, the remainder of an hundred and fife,
 against the fury of the Saluages, I began that plantation
 now in Virginia; which beginning (here and there) cost
 me neare fife yeaeres worke, and more then fife hundred
 pound of my owne estate; beside all the dangers, miseries

and incomberances and losse of other imployments I [1620] endured gratis. From which blessed Virgin, where I [§ 771.] stayed till I left fие hundred English, better prouided then euer I was (ere I returned), sprung the fortunate habitation of Somer Iles.

Burmudos

This Virgins sister (called *New England*, An. 1616, at [§ 267.] my humble suite, by our most gracious Prince *Charles*) [¶ 177, 232] hath bene neare as chargeable to mee and my friends; from all which, although I neuer got [a] shilling, but it cost mee a pound, yet I thinke my selfe happy to see their prosperities.

If it yet trouble a multitude to proceede vpon these certainties, what thinke you I vnderooke, when nothing was knowne, but that there was a vast Land? I neuer had power and meanes to do any thing (though more hath bene spent in formall delayes then would haue done the businesse) but in such a penurious and miserable maner, as if I had gone a begging to builde an Vniversity; where, had men bin as forward to aduenture their purses, as to crop the fruites of my Labours, thousands ere this, had bene bettered by these designes. Thus betwixt the spurre of Desire, and the bridle of Reason, I am neare ridden to death in a ring of Despaire; the reines are in your hands, therefore I entreat you to ease mee: and those blame mee (beleeue) this little may haue taught me, not to be [§. 772.] so forward againe at euery motion, vnlesse I intended nothing but to carry newes. For now they dare aduenture a shippe, that, when I went first, would not aduenture a groat, so they may be at home againe by Michaelmasse. But to the purpose.

By this all men may perceiue the ordinary performance of this voyage in fие or sixe moneths, the plenty of fish is most certainly approued; and it is certaine from *Cannada* and *New England* hath come neare twenty thousand Beuer Skinnes, within these fие yeares [1615-1620]. Now, had each of those shippes transported but sixe, or three pigs; as many goates and hens; fruits, plants, and seeds as I projected: by this time there might haue beeene victuall for a thousand men. But the desire of present gaine (in many) is so violent, and the indeuours of many vndertakers so negligent, euery one so regarding his priuate,

[1620] that it is hard to effect any publique good, and impossible
 [¶ 268] to bring them into a body, rule, or order, vnlesse both
 Authoritie and Mony assist experiences : it is not a worke
 for euery one to plant a Colonie (but when a house is
 built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it.) This requireth
 [¶ 191, 268, 705, 964] all the best par[t]s of art, iudgement, courage, honestie,
 constancy, diligence and experiance to doe but neare well :
 and there is a great difference betwixt Saying and Doing.

But to conclude, the fishing will go forward if you plant
 it or no ; whereby you may transport a colony for no great
 charge, that in a short time, might prouide such fraughts,
 to buy of vs their dwelling, as I would hope no ship could
 goe or come emptie from *New England*.

The charge of this is onely salt, nettes, hookes, Tines,
 kniues, Irish rugges, course cloth, beads, hatchets, glasse,
 and such trash, onely for fishing and trade with the
 Saluages, besides our own necessarie prouisions, whose
 indeuours will quickly defray all this charge ; and the
 Saluages haue intreated me to inhabit where I will.

[¶ 773] Now all those ships haue bin fished [*fishings*] within a
 square of two leagues ; and not one ship of all these, would
 yet aduenture further, where questionlesse 500. saile may
 haue their fraught, better then in *Island, Newfound land*, or
 elsewhere, and be in their markets before the other can
 haue their fish in their ships. Because *New England* fishing
 beginneth in mid-February, the other not till mid-Maie,
 the progression heereof tends much to the aduancement
 of *Virginia*, and the *Bermudas* : and will be a good friend
 in time of need to the Inhabitants in *New-found-land*.

[¶ 268, 781, 80x] The returnes made by the Westerne shippes are com-
 monly divided into 3. parts ; one for the owners of the
 shippe, another for the maister and his company, the
 third for his victulers ; which course being still permitted,
 will be no hinderance to the plantation, goe there neuer
 so many, but a meanes of transporting that yearlye for
 little or nothing, which otherwise will cost many a hundred
 of pounds.

If a Ship can gaine, twenty, thirty, fifty in the hundred,
 nay neare three hundred for 100. in seuen moneths, as
 you see they haue doone, spending twice so much time
 in going and coming as in staying there ; were I there

planted, seeing the varietie of the fishings in their seasons, serueth the most part of the yeare; and with a little labour we might make all the salt we neede vse, I can conceiue no reason to distrust, but the doubling and trebling their gaines that are at all the former charge, and can fish but two months in a yeare: and if those [who] do giue twenty, thirty, or forty shillings for an acre of land; or ship Carpenters, Forgers of yron &c. that buy all things at a deare rate, grow rich, when they may haue as good [pp. 201, 715.] of all needfull necessaries for taking (in my opinion) should not grow poore; and no commoditie in *Europe* doth more decay then wood.

Maister *Dee* recordeth in his *British Monarchie*, that King *Edgar* had a nauie of foure thousand saile, with which hee yearly made his progresse about this famous Monarchy of Great *Brittany*, largely declaring the benefit thereof; whereupon it seems he projected to our most memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, the erecting of a Fleet of three score saile, he called a little Nauy Royall; immitating the admired *Pericles*, prince of *Athens*, that could neuer secure that tormented estate, vntill he was Lord [p. 774.] and Captaine of the Sea.

At this none neede wonder, for who knowes not, her Royal Maiestie during her life, by the incredible aduentures of her Royal Nauy and valiant Souldiers and Sea-men; notwithstanding all treacheries at home, the protecting and defending [of] *France* and *Holland*, and re-conquering *Ireland*; yet all the world, by Sea or Land, both feared, loued and admired good Queene *Elizabeth*.

Both to maintaine and increase that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Successour, our most Royall Lord and Soueraigne King *James*, &c. this great Philosopher hath left this to his Maiesty and his kingdomes considerations.

That if the Tenthys of the Earth be proper to God, it is also due by Sea: the Kings highwayes are common to passe, but not to digge for mines or anie thing; so *Englands* coasts are free to passe, but not to fish, but by his Maiesties prerogatiue.

His Maiestie of *Spaine*, permits none to passe the Popes

[1620]
[p. 270.]

order for the East and West *Indies*, but by his permission, or at their perills. If all that world be so iustly theirs, it is no iniustice for *England* to make as much vse of her owne, as strangers doe; that pay to their owne Lords the tenth, and not to the owners of those Liberties any thing, whose subiects may neither take nor sell any in their territories: which small tribute would maintaine his little Nauy Royall, and not cost his Maiestie a penny; and yet maintaine peace with all forrainers, and allow them more curtesie, than any Nation in the world affords to *England*.

It were a shame to alledge, that *Holland* is more worthy to enioy our fishings as Lords thereof, because they haue more skill to handle it then we; as they can our wooll, and vndressed cloth, notwithstanding all their wars and troublesome disorders.

[p. 775.]

To get mony to build this Nauy he saith, Who would not spare the hundred penny of his Rents, and the 500 penny of his goods; each seruant that taketh 33.s. 4.d. wages, 4 pence, and euery forrainer seuen yeares of age, 4. pence yearly for 7. yeares; not any of these but yearly they will spend 3 times so much in pride, wantonnesse or some superfluity. And doe any men loue the securtie of their estates, that are true subjects, [who] would not of themselves be humble su[1]ters to his Maiestie to do this of free will as a voluntary beneuolence, so it may be as honestly and truly imployed as it is proiecte, the poorest mechanike in this kingdome will gaine by it.

If this be too much, would the honorable Aduenturers be pleased to moue his Maiestie, that but the 200. penny of Rents, and the thousandth pen[n]y of Goodes might bee thus collected, to plant New*England*, and but the tenth fish there taken, leauing strangers as they are. You might build ships of any burden and numbers you please, fие time cheaper then you can doe heere, and haue good merchandize for their fraught in this vnknowne land, to the aduancement of Gods glorie, his Church and Gospel, and the strengthening and relief of a great part of Christendome, without hurt to any: To the terror of Pirates, the amazement of enemies, the assistance of friends, the securing [of] mer-

chants, and so much increase of Nauigation, to make *Englands* Trade and Shipping as much as any Nation in the world, besides a hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all true subiects, and would cause thousands yet ^{¶ 271.} vnborne [to] blesse the time, and all them that first put it in practise.

Now, lest it should be obscured, as it hath bene, to priuate ends, or so weakely vndertaken by our ouerweening incredulitie, that strangers may possesse it, whilst we contend for New *Englands* goods, but not *Englands* good; I present this vnto your Lordship, and to all the Lords in *England*, hoping (by your gracious good liking and approbation) to moue all the worthy Companies of this noble City, and all the cities and Countries in the whole Land to consider it, since I can find them wood and halfe victuall, with the aforesaid aduantages, with what facility they may build and maintaine this little Nauie Royall, both with honour, profite, and content, and inhabite as good a country as any in the world, within that parallel: which with my life and what I haue I will endeouour to effect, if God please, and you permit.

As for them whom pride or couetousnes lulleth asleepe ^{¶ 276.]} in a Cradle of slouthfull carelesnesse; would they but consider how all the great Monarchies of the Eaith haue bene brought to confusion: or but remember the late lamentable experiance of *Constantinople*; and how many Cities, Townes, and Provinces in the faire rich kingdomes of *Hungaria*, *Transilvania*, and *Wallachi*[a]; and how many thousands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights, and Merchants, haue, in one day, lost goods, liues, and honours; or [been] solde for slaues like beasts in a market place; their wiues, children, and seruants slain, or wandering they knew not whither, dying, or liuing in all extremities of extreame ^{¶ 272.]} miseries and calamities. Surely, they would not onely doe this, but giue all they haue to enjoy peace and libertie at home; or but adventure their persons abroade, to preuent the conclusions of a conquering foe, who commonly assaulteth and best preuaileth where he findeth wealth and plentie (most armed) with ignorance and securitie.

Much more could I say, but lest I should be too tedious to your more serious affaires, I humbly craue your honor-

[1620] able and fauourable constructions and pardons if anything be amisse.

[pp 272,784] If any desire to bee further satisfied, they may reade my *Description of Virginia* and *New England*, and peruse them with their seuerall Mappes: what defect you finde in them, they shall finde supplied in mee or in my Authors, that thus freely haue throwne my selfe with my Mite into the Treasury of my Countries good, not doubting but God wil stirre vp some noble spirits, to consider and examine if worthy *Columbus* could giue the *Spaniards* such certainties for his dessigne, when Queene *Isabell* of *Spayne* set him forth with fifteene saile. And though I can promise no mines of gold, yet the warrelike *Hollanders* let vs immitate, but not hate; whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasure gotten by fishing.

Therefore (honorable and worthy Countrymen) let not the meannesse of the word Fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of *Guiana* or *Tu[m]batu*, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certaintie and facilitie: and so I humbly rest.

F I N I S.



NEW ENGLANDS TRIALS.

Declaring the successe of 80 Ships
employed thither within these eight yeares;
*and the benefit of that Countrey by Sea
and Land.*

With the present estate of that happie Plan-
tation, begun but by 60 weake men
in the yeare 1620.

And how to build a Fleete of good Shippes
to make a little Nauie Royall.

Written by Captain *John Smith*, sometimes Go-
uernour of *Virginia*, and Admirall
of New England.

The second Edition.



L O N D O N,
Printed by WILLIAM JONES.
1622.

[It was not usual to register second and later editions of a Work at Stationers' Hall; therefore this impression does not appear in the Registers of the Company.

It was however written in October 1622, before the 16th of that month; as the allusion, at p. 264, to the intended departure of the *Paragon* with reinforcements for the Pilgrim Fathers, clearly shows

WILLIAM HILTON's letter from New Plymouth, at p. 260, is the third earliest account in print, from that Colony; the two former ones, of this same year 1622, being

[R. CUSHMAN] *A Sermon preuached at Plymouth &c.*

[G. MOURI?] *Relation or Iouinal &c.*

See p. cxxxiii.

Though a very rare tract, this is not so very scarce as the earlier 1620 edition. If a guess might be hazarded as to the reason, it might have arisen that SMITH gave away so many copies of the first tract, in the year 1621, see p. 234, and that what had thus cost little, was little thought of, and therefore not preserved.

For the bibliography of this Tract, see p. cxxxi.]

TO THE MOST HIGH AND
 excellent Prince *Charles*, Prince of *VVales* ;
 Duke of *Cornewall, Yorke, and Albanie* ; Marquis
 of *Ormond*, and *Rothsey* ; and Earle Palatine of
Chester ; Heire of *Great Britaine, France*,
 and *Ireland*, &c.

S I R ,

MHen scarce any would beleue mee there was [1622] any such matter, your Highnesse did not disdaine to accept my description, and called that *New England* [pp. 177, 232], whose barbarous names you changed for such English, that none can denie but Prince *Charles* is the Godfather. Whereby I am bound in all reason and dutie to giue you the best account I can how your child doth prosper: and although as yet it is not much vnlike the Father in fortune, onely vsed as an instrument for other mens ends; yet the grace you bestowed on it by your Princely fauour, hath drawn so many iudgments now to behold it, that I hope shall find, it will giue content to your Highnesse, satisfaction to them, and so increase the number of well-willers, [that] *New England* will be able to reiect her maligners, and attend Prince *Charles* with her dutifull obedience, with a trophie of honour, and a kingdome for a Prince. Therefore the great worke contained in this little booke, humbly desires your Princely patronage.

No more, but sacring all my best abilities to the exquisite iudgement of your renowmed vertues, I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

*Your Highnesse true and
 faithfull seruant,*
 Io. Smith.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
 AND RIGHT WORTHY ADVENTURERS,
 to all Plantations and Discoueries, their
 friends and well-willers, especially of
Virginia and New England.

Right Ho.

[1622]

 Confesse it were more proper for me to be doing what I say, then writing what I know: but that it is not my fault, there is many a hundreth can testifie, if they please to remember what paines I haue taken both particularly and generally to make this worke knowne, and procure meanes to put it in practise. What calumniations, doubts, or other misprisions hath opposed my endeuers, I had rather forget then remember; but still to expresse my forwardnesse, to the consideration of your fauourable constructions I present this short discourse of the proceedings and present estate of New England: if you please to peruse it, and make vse of it, I am richly rewarded, though they be but the collections and obseruations of a plaine souldier, yet if you please to grace them with your countenance and good acceptance, I shall therein thinke my selfe happy, and hope that those labours may in time returne you such fruites as hereafter may perswade you to pardon this boldnesse, and accept them to be your honest seruants.

Yours to command,

Io. Smith.



NEW ENGLANDS

Trials, and Present Estate.



Oncerning the description of this Country, six yeares ago [1616], I writ so largely, as in briefe I hope this may suffice you to remember, that *New England* is a part of *America*, betwixt the Degrees 41. and 45. the very meane betwixt the North Pole and the Line.

[1577-
1614]

[pp. 192, 237
706, 938]

From 43. to 45. the coast is mountainous, rockie, barren, and broken Iles that make many good harbours. The water is deepe, close to the shore; there are many riuers and fresh springs: few Saluages, but an incredible abundance of fish, fowle, wilde fruits, and good timber.

From 43. to 41. and a half, an excellent mixed coast of stone, sand and clay, much corne, many people, some Iles, many good harbours, a temperate aire, and therein all things necessary for the building [of] ships of any proportion, and good merchandize for their fraught: within a square of 12 leagues, 25 harbours I sounded; 30 seuerall Lordships I saw, and so neare as I could imagine, 3000 men. I was vp one riuier fortie miles, crossed the mouths of many, whose heads are reported to be great lakes; where they kill their Beuers; inhabited with many people who trade with those of *New England*, and them of *Cannada*.

*The benefit of fishing as Master Dee reporteth
in his Brittish Monarchie [1577].*

[p. 238]

He saith that it is more then 44 yeares ago [by 1577], [p. 743]

[1577-
1620]

and it is more then 40 yeares since he writ it [*i.e., in 1577*], that the Herring Busses out of the Low-Countries, vnder the King of Spaine, were 500. besides 100 Frenchmen, and three or foure hundred saile of Flemmings.

The coasts of Wales and Lancashire was vsed by 300 saile of strangers.

Ireland at *Baltemore* fraughted yearlye 300 saile of Spaniards; where King *Edward* the sixt intended to haue made a strong Castle, because of the strait, to haue tribute for fishing.

Blache Rocke was yearlye fished by three or foure hundred saile of Spaniards, Portugals, and Biskiners.

Master [Tobias] Gentleman and many Fisher-men and Fish-mongers with whom I haue conferred, report,

[p. 197]

The Hollanders raise yearlye [*in 1620 see p. 238*] by Herring, Cod, and Ling, 3000000 pounds.

English and French by Salt-fish, poore Iohn, Salmons, and Pilchards, 300000 pounds.

[p. 744]

Hambrough and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters, and Eeles, 100000 pounds.

Cape Blanke for Tunny and Mullit, by the Biskiners and Spaniards 30000 pounds.

*But diuers other learned experienced Observuers say,
though it may seeme incredible.*

That the Duke of *Medina* receiueth yearlye tribute of the fishers for Tunny, Mullit, and Purgos, more then 10000 pounds.

Lubeck hath 700 ships: *Hambrough* 600: *Embden* [but] lately a fisher towne, 1400.: whose customes by the profit of fishing hath made them so powerfull as they be.

[p. 239]

Holland and *Zealand*, not much greater then *Yorkshire*, hath thirtie walled townes, 400 villages, and 20000 saile of shippes and hoyes; 3600 [vessels] are fishermen, whereof 100 are Doggers, 700 Pinckes and Welbotes, 700 Frand botes, Britters and *Toadebotes*, with 1300 Busses: besides three hundred that yearlye fish about *Yarmouth*, where they sell their fish for gold; and fifteene yeare ago, [*1605, see p. 239*] they had more then 116000 sea-faring men.

These fishing ships do take yearlye 200000 Last of fish, twelue barrels to a Last, which amounted to 3000000 pounds by the Fishermens price, that 14 yeares ago [1606, see p. 239] did pay for their tenths 300000 pound; which venting in *Pumerland, Sprussia, Denmarke, Lefland, Russia, Swethland, Germany, Netherlands, England*, or elsewhere, &c. make their returnes in a yeare about 7000000 pounds; and yet in *Holland* they haue neither matter to build ships, nor merchandize to set them foorth; yet by their industrie they as much increase, as other nations decay.

[1620]

But leauing these vncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine,

That the coast of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, the North Sea, with *Ireland* and the Sound, New-found land and Cape Blanke, do serue all *Europe*, as well the land Townes as Ports, and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of Staple fish which is transported, from whence it is taken, many a thousand mile, viz.

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them, may be had in a land more fertile, temperate, and plentifull of all necessaries for the building of ships, boats, and houses, and the nourishment of man; the seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neare the habitations we may there make, that *New England* hath much aduantage of the most of those parts, to serue all Europe farre cheaper then they can who at home haue neither wood, salt, nor food, but at great rates; at Sea nothing but what they carry in their ships, an hundred or two hundred leagues from their habitation.

But *New Englands* fishings is neare land, where is helpe of wood, water, fruities, fowles, corne, or other refreshings [pp. 297, 240] needfull; and the *Terceras, Mederas, Canaries, Spaine, Portugale, Prouance, Sauoy, Siciha*, and all *Italy*, as conuenient markets for our dry Fish, greene Fish, Sturgeon, Mullit, Caiiare, and Buttargo, as *Norway, Swethland, Lituania* or *Germany*, for their Herring, which is here also in abundance for taking; they returning but wood, pitch,

Herring.
Salt-fish.
poore John.
Sturgion.
Mullit.
Tunny.
Porgos.
Caviare.
Buttargo.

[p. 745]

- [1614-5] tarre, soape-ashes, cordage, flaxe, waxe, and such like commodities: we, wines, oyles, sugars, silks, and such merchandize as the Straits [i.e., of *Gibraltar*] affoord, whereby our profit may equalize theirs; besides the increase of shipping and Mariners.

And for proofe hereof:

Proofe 1.
1614.

[pp. 287, 240
607, 891, 936]

With two ships sent out at the charge of Captain Marmaduke Roydon, Captain George Langam, Master John Buley and W. Skelton, I went from the Downes the third of March [1614], and ar[r]ived in New England the last of April, where I was to haue stayed but with ten men to keepe possession of those large territories, had the Whales proued, as curious information had assured me and my aduenture[r]s, (but those things failed.) So hauning but fortie five men and boyes, we built seuen boates: 37 did fish; my selfe with eight others ranging the coast. I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the inhabitants; 1100 Beuer skins, 100 Martins, and as many Otters. 40000 of drie fish we sent for Spaine: with the salt fish, traine oile, and Furres, I returned for England, the 18 of July, and ar[r]ived safe with my company the latter end of August. Thus in six moneths I made my voyage out and home; and by the labour of 45, got neare the value of 1500 pounds in those grosse commodities.

This yeare also one went from Plimmoth, set out by diuers of the Isle of Wight and the West country, by the directions and instructions of Sir Ferdinando Gorge, [they] spent their victuals, and returned with nothing.

Proofe 2.
1615.

[pp. 219, 240
731, 733]

The Virginia Company, vpon this, sent 4 good ships; and because I would not undertake it for them, hauing ingaged my selfe to them of the West, the Londoners entertained[engaged] the men that came home with me. They set saile in January [1615], and arriued there in March; they found fish enough vntill halfe June, fraughted a ship of 300 Tuns, [which] went for Spaine, which was taken by the Turks; one went to Virginia to relieue that Colonie, and two came for England with greene fish, traine oile and Furres within six moneths.

Proofe 3.
1615.

[pp. 220, 240
731]

In January [1615] with 200 pounds in cash for aduenture, and six Gentlemen wel furnished, I went from London to the country; but I found no such matter: notwithstanding at the

last with a labyrinth of trouble I went from Plimmoth with a ship of 200 Tuns, and one of fiftie: when the fishing was done, onely with 15 I was to stay in the country. [1615-7]

But ill weather breaking all my masts, I was forced to returne to Plimmoth; where rather then lose all, reembarking myselfe in a Bark of 60 Tuns: how I escaped the English pyrates and the French, and was betrayed by fourre French men of warre, I referre you to the Description of New England [pp. 217-227]: but my Vice-Admirall, notwithstanding the latenesse of the yeare, setting forth with me in March [1615], the Londoners in Ianuary, she arriued in May, they in March; yet come home well fraught in August, and all her men well, within 5 months, odde days. [p. 24r] [p. 937] [p. 227]

The Londoners ere I returned from France [Dec. 1615], for at^t their losse by the Turks, which was valued about 4000 pounds, sent two more in July [1615]; but such courses they took by the Canaries to the West Indies, it was ten moneths ere they arriued in New England [May 1616], wasting in that time their seasons, virtuall and healths, yet there they found meanes to refresh themselues: and the one returned, neare fraught with fish and traine, within 2 moneths after [July 1616]. [p. 937]

From Plimmoth went 4 ships, onely to fish and trade, some in Februarie, some in March; one of 200 Tuns got thither in a moneth, and went full fraught for Spain; but the rest returned to Plimmoth well fraught, and their men well, within five moneths, odde dayes. [p. 1616] [p. 5]

From London went two more: one of 200 Tuns, got thither in six weeks, and within six weeks after with 44 men and boyes was full fraught, and returned again into England within five moneths and a few daies; the other went to the Canaries with drie fish, which they sold at a great rate, for Rials of 8, and as I heard turned pirats. [p. 1616] [p. 6]

I being at Plimmoth prouided with 3 good ships, yet but fifteene men to stay with me in the country, was Windbound three moneths, as was many a hundred saile more, so that the season being past, the ships went for Newfound land, whereby my designe was frustrate: which was to me and my friends no small losse, in regard whereof hcre the Westernie Commissioners, in the behalfe of themselues and the rest of the Companie, contracted with me by articles indented under our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters pattents so to be nominated, halfe the frunts of our [p. 940] [p. 746]

[1617-9] endeouours theirs, the rest our owne ; being thus ingaged, now the businesse doth prosper, some of them would vvillingly forget me ; but I am not the first they haue deceiued.

Proofe 8.
1618.

[p. 94v]

There vvas foure good ships prepared at Plimmoth, but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely 2 went forward, the one being of 200 Tuns, returned vwell fraught for Plimmoth, and her men in health, within fife moneths ; the other of 80 Tuns, went for Bilbow with drie fish, and made a good retурne.

In this voyage Edward Rowcraft, alias Stallings, a valiant [pp. 217, 223]
[732, 736] soldier, that had bin vvith me in Virginia, and seuen yearees after vvent vvith me from Plimoth towards New England, with Thomas Dirmer an understanding and an industrious Gentleman to inhabite it ; all vvhose names vvith our proceedings you may reade at large in my description of New England [p. 217], vpon triall before the Judge of the Admiraltie, how vvhene had past the vvorst, for pure cowardize the Maister and sailors ran away vvith the ship and all I had, and left me alone among 8 or 9 French men of Warre in the yeare 1615. This Stallings vvent now againe in those ships, and hauing some vvrong offered him in New England by a French man, he tooke him [i.e., his ship] ; and as he vvirrit to me, he vvent vvith her to Virginia vvith fish, to trade vvith them for such commodities as they might spare ; he knew both the countries vwell, yet he promised me the next Spring to meet me in New England ; but the ship and he perished in Virginia.

Proofe 9
1619.

[pp. 242, 747]

This yeare againe, diuers ships intending to go from Plimmoth, so disagreed, as there vvent but one of 200 Tuns, vvhoso stayed in the country about 6 vveeks, vvith 38 men and boyes, had her fraught, vvhich she sold at the first penie, for 2100 pounds, besides the Furres ; so that euery poore sailer that had but a single share, had his charges, and 16l. 10s. for his seuen moneths vvorke.

Master Thomas Dirmer hauning liued about a yeare in New-found-land returning to Plimmoth, vvent for New England in this ship, and not only confirmes vwhat I haue vvirrit, but so much more approued of it, that he stayed there vvith fife or six men in a little boate ; finding 2 or 3 Frenchmen among the sauages, vvhoso had lost their ship, [they] augmented his company, vvith vvhom he ranged the coast to Virginia, vvhere he vvas kindly vwelcomed, and vwell refreshed [Nov. 1619] ; thence

[pp. 542, 747]
[770]

returned to New England again, vvhile haing bin a yeare, in [1619-20] his back-returne to Virginia, he vvas so vvounded by the savages, he died vpon it, them [who] escaped vvere relueed at Virginia.

Let not men attribute their great aduentures and vntimely deaths to unfortunatenesse, but rather vvonder how God did so long preserue them, vwith so small meanes to do so much, leauing the fruits of their labours to be an encouragement to those our poore undertakings; and this for aduantage as they vvirte unto me, that God had laid this Country open for vs, and slaine the most part of the inhabitants by cruell vvarres, and a mortall disease; for vvhile I had seene 100 or 200 people [in 1614], there is scarce ten to be found. From Pembrocks bay to Harringtons bay there is not 20; from thence to Cape An, some 30; from Taulbuts bay to the Riuier Charles, about 40, and not any of them touched vwith any sicknes but one poore Frenchman that died.

For to make triall this yeare, there is gone 6 or 7 saile from the West country, onely to fish: three of vvhom are returned, and as I vvas certainly informed, made so good a voyage, that euery sailer for a single share had 20 pounds for his 7 moneths [pp. 748, 9, 11] vwork, vwhich is more then in 20 moneths he should haue gotten had he gone for vverages any vvhile.

Now though all the former ships haue not made such good voyages as they expected, by sending opinionated vnskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence to save that they tooke, nor take that there vwas; which now patience and practise hath brought to a reasonable kind of perfection: in despite of all detractors and calumniations, the Country yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath bin in their vsing or abusing it, not in it selfe nor me.

Proofo 10.
1620.
[p. 242]

A plantation in New England.

Vpon these inducements some few well disposed Gentlemen and Merchants of London and other places prouided two ships, the one of 160 Tunnes, the other of 70; they left the coast of England the 23 of August, with about 120 persons: but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leake, that forced their returne to Plimmoth: where discharging

Proofo 11.
1620.
[p. 749]

[1620-22] her and 20 passengers, with the great ship and a hundred persons besides sailers, they set saile againe the sixt of September, and the ninth of Nouember [1620] fell with *Cape James*; but being pestred nine weeks in this leaking vnwholsome ship, lying wet in their cabbins, most of them grew
 [pp. 749, 943] very weake, and weary of the sea; then for want of experiance ranging to and again, six weeks before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without couerture in the extremitie of Winter; fortie of them died: and 60 were left in very weake estate at the ships coming away, about the fift of April [1621] following, and arived in England the sixt of May [1621].

Proofoe 12.
1620.

[p. 757.]

Immediately after her arival from London they sent another of 55 Tunnes to supply them, with 37 persons. They set saile in the beginning of July [1621], but being crossed by Westerly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe *Plimmoth*, and arived at *New Plimmoth*, in *New England* the eleventh of Nouember [1621], where they found all the people they left in April, as is said, lustie and in good health, except six that died.

Within a moneth they returned here for *England*, laded with clapboord, wainscot and walnut; with about three hogsheads of Beuer skins and some Saxebras, the 13 of December [1621]; and drawing neare our coast, was taken by a Frenchman, set out by the Marquis of *Cera* Gouernour of Ile *D[i]eu* on the coast of *Poyton*: where they kept the ship, imprisoned the Master and companie, took from them to the value of about 500 pounds; and after 14 days sent them home with a poore supply of victuall, their owne being deououred by the Marquis and his hungry seruants. They arived at London the 14 of Februarie [1622], leauing all them they found and caried to *New England* well and in health, with victuall and cornes sufficient till the next haruest.

The copie of [a] Letter sent by this ship.

A Letter
from New
Plummoth.

 Ouring cousin, at our ar[ri]uall at New Plimmoth in New England, we found all our friends and planters in good health, though they were left sick and weake with very small meanes, the Indians round about vs peaceable and friendly,

the country very pleasant and temperate, yielding naturally of [1621-22] it self great store of fruutes, as vines of diuers sorts in great abundance. There is likewise walnuts, chesnuts, small nuts and plums, with much varietie of flowers, rootes, and herbs, no lesse pleasant then wholesome and profitable: no place hath more goose-berries and straw-berries, nor better. Timber of all [the] sorts you haue in England, doth couer the Land, that affoords beasts of diuers sorts, and gret flocks of Turkies, Quailes, Pigeons, and Partriges: many great lakes abounding with fish, fowle, Beuers, and Otters. The sea affoards vs as great plenty of all excellent sorts of sea-fish, as the riuers and Iles doth varietie of wilde fowle of most vsefull sorts. Mines we find to our thinking, but neither the goodnesse nor qualitie we know. Better grain cannot be then the Indian corne, if we will plant it upon as good ground as a man need desire. We are all free-holders, the rent day doth not trouble vs; and all those good blessings we haue, of which and what we list in their seasons for taking. Our companie are for most part very religious honest people; the word of God sincerely taught vs euery Sabbath: so that I know not any thing a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my wife and children to me, where I wish all the friends I haue in England, and so I rest

[The probable date of
this letter is about 13 Dec. 1621.]

Your louing kinsman
William Hilton.

From the West country, went ten or twelve ships to fish, which were all well fraughted; those that came first at Bilbow made 17 pounds a single share, besides Beuer, Otters and Martins skins: but some of the rest that came to the same ports that were already furnished, so glutted the market, their price was abated; yet all returned so well contented, they are a preparing to go againe.

Proofe 13
1621.
[A. 760]

There is gone from the West of England onely to fish 35 ships, and about the last of April [1622] two more from London, the one of 100 Tuns, the other of 30, with some 60 passengers to supply the plantation [of T. Weston] with all necessary prouisions.

For this
yeare
1622.
[A. 760, 941]

Now though the Turke and French hath bin somewhat too busie, would all the Christian princes but be truly at vnitie, as his royal Majestie our Soueraigne Lord and King desireth, 70 saile of good ships were sufficient to fire the most of his coasts

[1622] in the Leuant, and make such a guard in the straits of Hellespont, as would make the great Turke himselfe more afraid in Constantinople, then the smallest red crosse, [that] crosses the seas, would be, either of any French Piccaroun, or the pirats of Argere.

An abstract of Letters sent from the Collony
in New England, July 16, 1622.

Since the newes of the massacre in Virginia [22 Mar. 1622], though the Indians continue their wonted friendship, yet are we more wary of them then before; for their hands hath bin embrued in much English blood, onely by too much confidence, but not by force.

[P. 242.] Here I must intreate a little your fauours to digresse. They did not kill the English because they were Christians, but for their weapons and commodities, that were rare nouelties; but now they feare we may beate them out of their dens, which Lions and Tygers would not admit but by force. But must this be an argument for an English man, or discourage any either in *Virginia* or *New England*? No: for I haue tried them both.

For *Virginia*, I kept that country with 38, and had not to eate but what we had from the sauages. When I had ten men able to go abroad, our common wealth was very strong: with such a number I ranged that vnknown country 14 weeks; I had but 18 to subdue them all, with which great army I stayed six weekes before their greatest Kings habitations, till they had gathered together all the power they could; and yet the Dutch-men sent at a needlesse excessiue charge did helpe Powhatan how to betray me.

Of their numbers we were vncertaine; but them two honorable Gentlemen (Captaine *George Percie* and Captaine *Francis West*, two of the *Phittiplaces*, and some other such noble gentlemen and resolute spirits bore their shares with me, and now liuing in *England*) did see me take this murdering *Opechanhanough* now their great King by the long locke on his head; with my pistole at his breast, I led him among his greatest forces, and before we parted

made him fill our Bark of twenty Tuns with corne. When their owne wants was such, I haue giuen them part againe in pittie, and others haue bought it againe to plant their fields.

[1622]

For wronging a souldier but the value of a peny, I haue caused *Powhatan* send his owne men to *Ianes Towne* to receiue their punishment at my discretion. It is true in our greatest extremitie they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made *Pocahontas* the Kings daughter the meanes to deliuer me: and thereby taught me to know their trecheries to preserue the rest.

It was also my chance in single combat to take the King of *Paspahegh* prisoner: and by keeping him, forced his subiects to worke in chaines till I made all the country pay contribution; hauing little else whereon to liue.

Twise in this time I was their President, and none can say in all that time I had a man slaine: but for keeping them in that feare I was much blamed both there and here: yet I left 500 behind me that, through their confidence, in six months came most to confusion, as you may reade at large in the description of *Virginia* [pp. 170, 498].

When I went first to these desperate designes, it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to go; and procrastination caused more [to] run away then went. But after the ice was broken, came many braue voluntaries: notwithstanding since I came from thence, the honorable Company haue bin humble suiters to his Maiestie to get vagabonds and condemned men to go thither; nay so much scorned was the name of *Virginia*, some did chuse to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were: yet for all the worst of spite, detraction, and discouragement, and this lamentable massacre, there is more honest men now sui[i]ters to go, then euer hath bin constrained knaues; and it is not vnknown to most men of vnderstanding, how happie many of those Collumners doe thinke themselues, that they might be admitted, and yet pay for their passage to go now to *Virginia*: and had I but meanes to transport as many as would go, I might haue choise of 10000 that would gladly be in any of those new places, which were so basely contemned by vngrateful base minds.

[p. 761]

[1622] To range this countrey of *New England* in like maner
 [¶. 761] I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their bruite con-
 ditions I met many of their silly incounters, and without
 any hurt, God be thanked; when your West country
 men were many of them wounded and much tormented
 with the sauages that assaulted their ship, as they did say
 themselues, in the first yeare I was there 1614; and
 though Master *Hunt*, then Master with me, did most basely
 [pp. 698, 701, 720, 732] in stealing some sauages from that coast to sel, when he
 was directed to haue gone for Spaine: yet that place
 [*Patuxet, afterwards called New Plymouth*, p. 754] was so re-
 move from *Capawuck*, where *Epenew* should haue fraughted
 them with gold ore, his fault could be no cause of their
 bad successe, howeuer it is alledged for an excuse. I
 speake not this out of vainglory, as it may be some
 gleaners, or some [that] was neuer there may censure me:
 but to let all men be assured by those examples, what
 those sauages are, that thus strangely doe murder and
 betray our countrey men. But to the purpose.

*What is already writ of the healthfulness of the aire, the
 richnesse of the soile, the goodnes of the woods, the abundance
 of fruits, fish, and fowle in their season, they stil affirm that
 haue bin there [at New Plymouth] now neare 2 yeares, and at
 one draught they haue taken 1000 basses, and in one night twelue
 hogsheads of herring. They are building a strong fort, [which]
 they hope shortly to finish, in the interin they are wel prouided:
 their number is about a hundred persons, all in health, and
 well neare 60 acres of ground well planted with corne, besides
 their gardens well replenished with vseful fruits; and if their
 Aduenture[r]s would but furnish them with necessaries for fishing,
 their wants would quickly be supplied.*

[pp. 766, 767, 941] *To supply them this 16 of October [This fixes the month in
 which this Second Edition was written] is going the Paragon
 with 67 persons, and all this is done by priuat mens purses.
 And to conclude in their owne words, should they write of all
 plenties they haue found, they thinke they should not be beleevued.*

*For the 26 saile of ships, the most I can yet understand is,
 Master Ambrose Iennens of London, and Master Abraham*

Iennens of Plimmoth sent (their Abraham) a ship of 220 Tuns, and the Nightingale of Porchmouth of 100.; whose fish at the first penie came to 3150 pounds : in all they were 35 saile : and where in Newfound land they shared six or seuen pounds for a common man, in New England they shared 14 pounds; besides, six Dutch and French shups made wonderfull returnes in furres.

[1622]

1622.

Thus you may see plainly the yearely successe from [A. 1669] *New England* (by *Virginia*) which has bin so costly to this kingdome and so deare to me, which either to see perish or but bleed, pardon me though it passionate me [A. 1770] beyond the bounds of modestie, to haue bin sufficiently able to foresee it, and had neither power nor meanes how to preuent it. By that acquaintance I haue with them, I may call them my children ; for they haue bin my wife, my hawks, my hounds, my cards, my dice, and in totall my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right : and notwithstanding all those miracles of disasters [that] haue crossed both them and me, yet were there not one English man remaining (as God be thanked there is some thousands) I would yet begin againe with as small meanes as I did at the first. Not for that I haue any secret encouragement from any I protest, more then lamentable experiences : for all their discoueries I can yet heare of, are but pigs of my owne sowe ; nor more strange to me then to heare one tell me he hath gone from *Billings gate* and discouered *Greenwich*, *Grauesend*, *Tilbery*, *Quinborow*, *Lee*, and *Margit*; which to those [who] did neuer heare of them, though they dwell in *England*, might be made seem some rare secrets and great countries vnknowne : except the relations of Master *Dyrmer*.

In *England* some are held great trauelers that haue seene *Venice* and *Rome*, *Madrill* and *Algere*, *Prague* or *Ragousa*, *Constantinople* or *Ierusalem*, and the *Piramides* of *Egypt* ; that thinke it nothing to go to the *Summer Iles* or *Virginia* : which is as farre as any of them, and I hope in time will proue a more profitable and a more laudable iourney. As for the danger, you see our Ladies and Gentlewomen account it nothing now to go thither ; and therefore I hope all good men will better appiehend it, and

[pp. 217, 258,
542, 732, 747,
770]

[1622] not suffer them to languish in despaire, whom God so wonderfully and so oft hath preserued.

What here I haue writ by relation, if it be not right, I humbly intreate your pardons; but I haue not spared any diligence to learne the truth of them that haue bin actors or sharers in those voyages: in some particulars they might deceiue me, but in the substances they could not, for few could tell me any thing, except where they fished. But seeing all those [that] haue liued there, do confirme more then I haue writ, I doubt not but all those testimonies with these new begun examples of plantation, will moue both Citle and Country freely to aduenture with me and my partners more then promises, seeing I haue from his Maiestie Letters Pattents, such honest, free, and large conditions assured me from his Commissioners, as I hope will satisfie any honest vnderstanding.

[p. 771.]
[pp. 242, 746,
941.]

But because some fortune tellers saith, I am vnfortunate, had they spent their time as I haue done, they would rather beleue in God then their calculations, and peraduenture haue giuen as bad account of their actions; and therefore I intreat leaue to answer those objectors, that think it strange if this be true, I haue made no more vse of it, rests so long without emploiment, and hath no more reward nor preferment: to which I say:

[p. 242]

I thinke it more strange they should taxe me before they haue tried as much as I haue both by land and sea, as well in *Asia* and *Africa*, as *Europe* and *America*; where my commanders were actors or spectators, they alwaies so freely rewarded me, I neuer needed to importunate, n[or] could I euer learne to beg: what there I got, I haue thus spent:

These sixteen yeares [1606-1622] I haue spared neither paines nor money according to my abilitie, first to procure his Maiesties Letters pattents, and a Company here to be the means to raise a company to go with me to *Virginia*, as is said: which beginning here and there cost me neare 5 yeares [1604-1609] worke, and more then 500 pounds of my owne estate, besides all the dangers, miseries, and incumbrances I endured gratis: where I stayed till I left 500 better prouided then euer I was; from which blessed Virgin (ere I returned) sprung the fortunate habitation of *Somer Iles.*

This Virgins sister, now called *New England*, an. 1616. [1622] at my humble suit by our most gracious Prince *Charles*, hath bin neare as chargeable to me and my friends : for all [pp. 746, 748] which I neuer got shilling, but it cost me many a pound, yet I thinke my selfe happie to see their prosperities.

If it yet trouble a multitude to proceed vpon these certainties, what think you I vndertook when nothing was knowne, but that there was a vast land. I neuer had power and meanes to do any thing, though more hath bin spent in formall delayes then would haue done the businesse; but in such a penurious and miserable manner as if I had gone a begging to build an Vniuersitie: where had men bin as forward to aduenture their purses and performe the conditions they promised me, as to crop the fruites of my labours, thousands ere this had bin bettered by these designes. Thus betwixt the spur of Desire and the bridle of Reason I am neare ridden to death in a ring of despaire ; the raines are in your hands, therefore I intreate you to ease me: and those that think I am either idle or vnfortunate, may see the cause and know: vnlesse I did see better dealing, I haue had warning enough, not to be so forward again at euery [p. 772] motion vpon their promises, vnlesse I intended nothing but to carry newes. For now they dare aduenture a ship, that when I went first, would not aduenture a groate, so they may be at home againe by Michaelmas : which makes me remember Master *Hackly[ys]ts*; oh incredulitie ! the wit of fooles, that slouenly do spit at all things faire; a sluggards cradle, a cowards costle, how easie it is to be an infidell. But to the purpose.

By this all men may perceiue the ordinary performance of this voyage in fие or six moneths, the plenty of fish is most certainly approued: and it is certain, from *Cannada* and *New England* within these six yeares [1615-1620] hath come neare 20000 Beuer skins. Now had each of those ships transported but some small quantitie of the most increasing beasts, fowles, plants, and seeds, as I projected; by this time their increase might haue bin sufficient for a thousand men. But the desire of present gain (in many) is so violent, and the endeouers of many vndertakers so negligent, euery one so regarding their priuate gaine, that [p. 244]

[1622] it is hard to effect any publick good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, vnlesse both authoritie and mony assist experiences. It is not a worke
 [Ap. 191, 268,
705, 564] for euery one to plant a Colonie; but when a house is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it. This requireth all the best parts of art, iudgement, courage, honestie, constancie, diligence, and experience to do but neare well: your home bred ingrossing projectors shall finde there [is] a great difference betwixt saying and doing.

But to conclude, the fishing wil go forward if you plant it or no; whereby a Colonie may be transported with no great charge, that in a short time might prouide such fraughts to buy of vs there dwelling, as I would hope no ship should go or come empty from *New England*.

The charge of this is onely salt, nets, hookes, lines, kniues, Irish rugs, course cloth, beades, glasse, and such trash, onely for fishing and trade with the sauages, beside our owne necessary prouisions, whose endeouours wil quickly defray all this charge; and the sauages haue intreated me to inhabite where I will.

[Ap. 773] Now all these ships, till this last yeare [1621], haue bin fished [*fishing*] within a square of two or 3 leagues, and not one of them all would aduenture any further: where questionlesse 500 saile may haue their fraught better then in *Island, Newfoundland*, or else where, and be in their markets before the other can haue their fish in their ships, because *New Englands* fishing begins with February, the other not till mid May; the progression hereof tends much to the aduancement of *Virginia* and the *Bermudas*, whose emptie ships may take in their fraught there, and would be a good friend in time of need to the inhabitants of *New foundland*.

[Ap. 80x.] The returnes made by the Westerne ships, are commonly deuided into three parts, one for the owner of the ship, another for the Master and his companie, the third for the victuallers: which course being still permitted, wil be no hindrance to the plantation, go there neuer so many, but a meanes of transporting that yearly for little or nothing, which otherwise will cost many a hundred of pounds.

If a ship can gaine twentie, thirtie, fiftie in the 100, nay 300 for 100. in 7 moneths, as you see they haue done; spending twise so much time in going and coming as in

staying there : were I there planted, seeing the varietie [1622]
 of the fishings in their seasons serueth the most part of [A. 245.]
 the yeare, and with a little labour we might make all the
 salt we need vse. I can conceiue no reason to distrust,
 but the doubling and trebling their gaines that are at all
 the former charge, and can fish but two moneths in a
 yeare : and if those do giue 20. 30. or 40. Shillings for an
 acre of land, or ship carpenters, forgers of iron, &c, that
 buy all things at a deare rate, grow rich ; when they may
 haue as good of all needful necessaries for taking (in my
 opinion) should not grow poore, and no commodity in
Europe doth more decay then wood.

Master *Dee* recordeth in his *Brittish Monarchie* [1577], that King *Edgar* had a nauie of 4000 saile, with which he yearlye made his progresse about his famous Monarchie of *Great Brittain*, largely declaring the benefit thereof : whereupon it seemes he projected to our most memorable Queene *Elizabeth*, the erecting of a Fleete of 60 saile, he called a little Nauie Royall ; imitating the admired *Pericles* [p. 774.] Prince of *Athens*, that could neuer secure that tormented estate, vntill he was Lord and Captain of the Sea.

At this none need wonder ; for who knowes not, her Royall Maiestie during her life, by the incredible aduentures of her Royall Nauy, and valiant souldiers and sea-men, notwithstanding all trecheries at home, the protecting and defending [of] *France* and *Holland*, and reconquering *Ireland*, yet all the world by sea or land both feared, loued, and admired good Queen *Elizabeth*.

Both to maintaine and increase that incomparable honour (God be thanked) to her incomparable Successour, our most Royall Lord and Soueraigne King *James*, &c. this great Philosopher hath left this to his Maiestie and his kingdomes consideration :

That if the Tenthis of the Earth be proper to God, it is also due by Sea : the Kings high wayes are common to passe, but not to dig for Mines or any thing : so *Englands* coasts are free to passe, but not to fish but by his Maiesties prerogatiue.

His Maiesty of *Spaine* permits none to passe the Popes order for the East and West Indies, but by his permission, [p. 246.]

[1622] or at their perils. If all that world be so iustly theirs, it is no iniustice for *England* to make as much vse of her own shores as strangers do, that pay to their own Lord, the tenth, and not to the owner of those liberties any thing to speake of; whose subiects may neither take nor sell any in their territories: which small tribute would maintain this little Nauie Royall, and not cost his Maiestie a penny; and yet maintaine peace with all forreiners, and allow them more courtesie, then any nation in the world affoords to *England*.

It were a shame to alleage, that *Holland* is more worthy to enjoy our fishings as Lords thereof, because they haue more skill to handle it then we, as they can our wooll and vndressed cloth, notwithstanding all their wars and troublesome disorders.

To get mony to build this Nauy, he saith, who would not spare the 100 peny of his Rents, and the 500 peny of his goods; each seruant that taketh 40. s. wages 4. d.; and euery forreiner of 7 yeares of age 4.d. for 7 years; not any of these but they will spend 3 times so much in pride, wantonnesse, or some superfluitie. And do any men loue the securitie of their estates, that of themselues would not be humble su[i]ters to his Maiestie to do this of free will as a voluntary beneuolence, or but one halfe of this, (or some such other course as I haue propounded to diuers of the Companies) free from any constraint, taxe, lottery, or imposition, so it may be as honestly and truly employed as it is proiecte, the poorest mechanick in this kingdom would gaine by it.

[p. 775]

You might build ships of any proportion and numbers you please, fие times cheaper then you can do here, and haue good merchandize for their fraught in this vnknowne land, to the aduancement of Gods glorie, his Church and Gospel, and the strengthening and relieve of a great part of Christendome, without hurt to any; to the terror of pyrats, the amazement of enemies, the assistance of friends, the securing of Merchants, and so much increase of Nauigation to make *Englands* trade and shipping as much as any nation in the world, besides a hundred other benefits, to the generall good of all good subiects, and would cause

[p. 247]

thousands yet vnborn [to] blesse the time and all them
that first put it in practise.

[1622]

Now lest it should be obscured as it hath bin to priuate
ends, or so weakly vndertaken by our ouerweening
incredulitie, that strangers may possesse it, whilst we
contend for *New Englands* good[s], but not *Englands* good;
I present this to your Highnes and to all the Lords in
England, hoping by your gracious good liking and appro-
bation to moue all the worthy Companies of this noble
Citie, and all the Cities and Countries in the whole Land
to consider of it, since I can finde them wood and halfe
victuall, with the aforesaid aduantages, with what facilitie
they may build and maintaine this little Nauie Royall,
both with honour, profit, and content, and inhabite as
good a country as any in the world, within that parallel:
which with my life and what I haue I wil endeavour to
effect, if God please, and you permit.

But no man wil go from hence, to haue lesse freedome
there then here; nor aduenture all they haue, to prepare
the way for them that know it not: and it is too well
knowne there hath bin so many vndertakers of Patents
and such sharing of them, as hath bred no lesse discoura-
gement then wonder, to heare such great promises and so
little performances. In the interim, you see the *Dutch* and
French already frequent it: and God forbid them in *Virginia*
or any of his Maiesties subiects should not haue as free
libertie as they. To conclude, were it not for Master *Pierce*
and a few priuate Aduenturers with him [*i.e.*, the *Pilgrim*
Fathers], what haue we there for all these inducements?

As for them, whom pride or couetousnes lulleth asleep
in a cradle of slothfull carelesnes, would they but consider
how all the great Monarchies of the earth haue bin
brought to confusion; or but remember the late lament-
able experiance of *Constantinople*; and how many Cities,
Townes, and Prouinces in the faire rich kingdoms of
Hungaria, *Transiluania*, *Wallachia* and *Moldaua*; and how
many thousands of Princes, Earles, Barons, Knights,
Merchants, and others, haue in one day lost goods, liues,
and honors, or sold for slaues like beasts in a market place;
their wiues, children, and seruants slaine or wandring they
knew not whither, dying, or liuing in all extremities of

[1622]

3 ships

went from
London,set out by
Maister*John Farar*
and his
partners*The Bona
noua 200**tunns.**The
Hobswell 70.**The Dar-
ling 40*

[1622] extreame miseries and calamities. Surely they would not only do this, but giue all they haue to enjoy peace and libertie at home; or but aduenture their persons abroad, to preuent the conclusions of a conquering foe, who commonly assaulteth and best preuaileth where he findeth wealth and plentie (most armed) with ignorance and securitie.

Though the true condition of war is onely to suppresse the proud, and defend the innocent and humble, as did that most generous Prince *Sigismundus Bathor* Prince of those countries, against them, whom vnder the colour of justice and pietie, to maintaine their superfluitie of ambitious pride, thought all the world too little to maintaine their vice, and vndoe them, or keepe them from abilitie to do anything that would not admire and adore their honors, fortunes, couetousnes, falsehood, bribery, crueltie, extortion, and ingratitudo, which is worse then cowardize or ignorance, and all maner of vildnesse, cleane contrary to all honour, vertue, and noblenesse.

[p. 248]

Much more could I say, but lest I should be too tedious to your more serious affaires, I humbly craue your honourable and fauourable constructions and pardons if any thing be amisse.

[p. 784.]

If any desire to be further satisfied, they may reade my *Description of Virginia and New England*, and peruse them with their seuerall Maps: what defect you finde in them, they shall find supplied in me or my authors, that thus freely hath throwne my selfe with my mite into the Treasury of my Countries good, not doubting but God will stir vp some noble spirits to consider and examine if worthy *Columbus* could giue the *Spaniards* any such certainties for his designe, when Queene *Isabel of Spaine* set him foorth with fifteene saile. And though I can promise no Mines of gold, yet the warlike *Hollanders* let vs imitate, but not hate: whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasure gotten by fishing.

Therefore (honorable and worthy Countrymen) let not the meannesse of the word *Fish* distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of *Guiana* or *Tumbatu*, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certaintie and facilitie; and so I humbly rest.

F I N I S .



GENERAL

Virginia, New-
Iles with the
Planters, and
first begin-
pr

*With the Proceeds
and the Accide
Tournyes &
Also the Maps, Countries, th
Gouvernemēt*

*DIVIDE
By Captain JH
in this
Pr
I*

HE
L HISTORIE
OF
yland, and the Summer
es of the Adventurers,
vernours from their
y An 1584 to this
at 1624

*If those severall Gouernours
hat before them in all their
Discoveries
Descriptions of all those
Commodities, people,
ustomes, and Religion
knowne*

*TO SIXE BOOKES
WITH sometyme Gouvernor
ties & Admirall
v England.*

*LONDON
by I.D. and
r Michael
the
624*



[No printed Title page.]

[It will be seen from p cxxv, that this *General History* was projected as early as 12 April 1621, or within four months of the publication of the first edition of *New Englands Trials* in 1620. The earlier portion of it, as the passage at p 331 shews, was evidently compiled by 1622.

It is clear from the *Prospectus*, the material part of which is printed at p cxxv, that our Author had worked out the general scheme of the *General History*, and was ready to go to press with the bulk of it, in 1623, which, according to the popular way of reckoning, would mean any time between 25 March 1623 and 24 March 1624. At that time however he only contemplated three maps at a cost of £100 [= £300 now], and not the six that actually appeared in the book.

Our Author tells the Duchess of RICHMOND, at p 277

"If therefore you Gracious shall daigne to cast your eye on this poore Booke, view I pray you rather your own *Bountie* (without which it had dyed in the wombe)" It is clear therefore that the Duchess contributed liberally, in answer to our Author's *Prospectus*.

He thus refers to the *General History*, at p 622

"Thus far I haue trauelled in this Wildernes of *Virginia*, not being ignorant [that] for all my paines, this discourse will be wiested, tossed and turned as many waies as there is leaues [*The first four Books of this Generall History, occupy 84 leaves*], that I haue writ too much of some, too little of others, and many such like obiections

"To such I must answer, in the Companies name I was requested to doe it, if any haue concealed their approued experiences from my knowledge, they must excuse me as for euery fatherles or stolne relation, or whole volumes of sofisticated rehearsals, I leauen them to the charge of them that desire them. I thanke God I never vnderooke any thing yet [wherein] any could tax me of carelessness or dishonesty, and what is hee to whom I am indebted or troublesome?"

It was probably eventually hurried through the press to counteract the disastrous effect of the bankruptcy, and dissolution in June 1624, of the London Virginia Company being thus entered for publication at Stationers' Hall

12^o July 1624

Michael Sparkes Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of master Doctor GOAD and master Lownes warden *The History of Virginia The Summer Islands and newe England* by JOHN SMITH vjd

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A D, Ed by E ARBER, iv 121, 1877

For the bibliography of this work, see p cxxvi

It is constantly said that Sheet O, being pages 97 to 104, see pp 494, 497, was suppressed in all copies. The fact is, as Mr HENRY SILVENS, F S A, has pointed out with his usual wonderful acuteness in bibliographical matters, they were never printed. See further on this point, as proved by the variations in the style of printing, at p 490.

For the inserted Sectional Title pages, see pp 301, 341, 383, 489, 495, 623, and 693.]



TO
 THE ILLVSTRIOS
 AND MOST NOBLE
 PRINCESSE, the Lady FRAN-
 cis, Duchesse of RICHMOND
 and LENOX

Ay it please your Grace,

[1624]

MThis History, as for the raretie
 and varietie of the subiect, so
 much more for the judicious Eyes
 it is like to vndergoe, and most of
 all for that great *Name*, whereof it dareth implore
 Protection, might and ought to haue beene clad in
 better robes then my rude military hand can cut
 out in Paper Ornaments But because, of the most
 things therein, I am no Compiler by hearsay, but
 haue beene a reall Actor, I take my selfe to haue
 a propertie in them and therefore haue beene
 bold to challenge them to come vnder the reach
 of my owne rough Pen That, which hath beene

[J. Smith.
July 1624.]

[1624] indured and passed throug with hardship and danger, is thereby sweetned to the *Actor*, when he becometh the *Relator* I haue deeply hazarded my selfe in doing and suffering, and why should I sticke to hazard my reputation in Recording? He that acteth two parts is the more borne withall if he come short, or fayle in one of them Where shall we looke to finde a *Iulus Cæsar*, whose atchieu[e]ments shine as cleare in his owne *Commentaries*, as they did in the field? I confesse, my hand, though able to weild a weapon among the Barbarous, yet well may tremble in handling a Pen among so many *Iudicious* especially when I am so bold as to call so piercing, and so glorious an *Eye*, as your *Grace*, to view these poore ragged lines

Yet my comfort is, that heretofore honorable and vertuous *Ladies*, and comparable but amongst them-selues, haue offred me rescue and protection in my greatest dangers even in foraine parts, I haue felt relieve from that sex The beauteous Lady

[1623. 3. 266] *Tragabigzanda*, when I was a slaye to the *Turkes*, did all she could to secure me When I overcame the *Bashaw* of *Nalbrits* in *Tartaria*, the charitable

[1624. 8. 7.] Lady *Callamata* supplyed my necessities In the vtmost of many extremities, that blessed *Pokahontas*,
[1624. Oct. 1, 1600.]
[4. 11. 1655.] the great Kings daughter of *Virginia*, oft saved my life When I escaped the crueltie of Pirats and most furious stormes, a long time alone in a small

Boat at Sea, and driven ashore in *France*, the good [1624]
Lady *Madam Chanoyes*, bountifully assisted me [AP 226, 739]

And so verily these my adventures haue tasted
the same *influence* from your *Gratious hand*, which
hath given birth to the publication of this *Narra-
tion* If therefore your *Grace* shall daigne to cast
your eye on this poore Booke, view I pray you
rather your owne *Bountie* (without which it had
dyed in the wombe) then my *imperfections*, which
haue no helpe but the shrine of your *glorious Name*
to be sheltered from censorious condemnation
Vouchsafe some glimpse of your honorable *aspect*, to
accept these my labours, to protect them vnder the
shadow of your excellent *Name* which will enable
them to be presented to the *Kings royall Majestie*,
the most admired Prince *Charles*, and the *Queene of
Bohemia* your sweet Recommendations will make
it the worthier of their good countenances And as
all my endevours are their due tribute so this Page
shall record to posterite, that my service shall be
to pray to *God*, that you may still continue the
renowned of your sexe, the most honored of men,
and the highly blessed of *God*

*Your Graces faithfull
and devoted servant,*

JOHN SMITH.



A Preface of foure Poynts.

[1624]

I



His plaine History humbly sheweth the truth, that our most royll King Iames hath place and opportunity to enlarge his ancient Dominions without^{} wronging any, (which is a condition most agreeable to his most iust and pious resolutions) and the Prince his Highness may see where to plant new Colonies. The gaining Prouinces addeth to the Kings Crown but the reducing Heathen people to ciuitie and true Religion, bringeth honour to the King of Heauen. If his Princely wisedome and powerfull hand, renowned through the world for admirabile government, please but to set these new Estates into order, their composure will be singular the counsell of divers is confused, the generall Stocke is consumed, nothing but the touch of the Kings sacred hand can effect a Monarchy*

II

Most noble Lords and worthy Gentlemen, it is your Honois that haue employed great paines and large expence in laying the foundation of this State, wherein much hath beeene buried under ground, yet some thing hath sprung vp, and giuen you a taste of your adventures. Let no difficulties alter your noble intentions. The action is an honour to your Countrey and the issue may well reimburse you your summes expended Our practices haue hitherto beeene but assayes, and are still to

be amended Let your bountie supply the necessities of weake beginnings, and your excellent iudgements rectifie the proceedinges, the returne cannot choose in the end but bring you good Comodities, and good contentments, by your aduancing shippynge and fishing so usefull unto our Nation

[1624]

- III Yee valiant and generous spirits, personall possessors of these new-found Territories, banish from among you Cowardise, covetousnes, realousies, and idlenes, enemies to the raising your honours and fortunes, vertue, industry, and amitie, will make you good and great, and your merits live to ensuynge Ages You that in contempt of necessities, hazard your liues and estates, unploying your studies and labours in these faire endeavours, liue and prosper as I desire my soule should prosper
- IV For my selfe let emulation and enuie cease, I ever intended my actions should be upright now my care hath beeene that my Relations should giue every man they concerne, their due But had I not discovered and liued in the most of those parts, I could not possibly haue collected the substantiall truth from such a number of variable Relations, that would haue made a Volume at least of a thousand sheets [=4,000 folio pages] Though the beginning may seeme harsh in regard of the Antiquities, breuitie, and names, a pleasanter Discourse ensues The stile of a Souldier is not eloquent, but honest and iustifiable, so I desire all my friends and well-wishers to excuse and accept it, and if any be so noble as to respect it, he that brought New England to light, though long since brought in obscuritie, he is againe to be found a true servant to all good designes

So I ever rest yours to command,

JOHN SMITH.

A Gentleman desirous to be
 vnknowne, yet a great Benefactor
 to *Virginia*, his loue to the Author,
 the Company, and History

[1624]



Tay, reade, behold, skill, corrage, knowledge, Arts ;
 Wonder of Naturie Mūmoi of our Clime
 Mais, Vulcan, Neptune striue to haue their parts,
 Rare O: naments, rich hogours of our time

*From far fetcht Indies, and Virginia's soyle,
 Here Smith is come to shew his Art and skill
 He was the Smith that hammered famis soyle,
 And on Powhatan's Emperour had his will*

*Though first Columbus, Indies tue Christofei ;
 Cabots, braue Florida, much admirer ,
 Meta Incognita, rare Martin Frobisher ,
 Gilberts braue Humphrey, Neptunes deuoures ,*

*Captaine Amadis, Raleighs discouerer ,
 Sir Richaid Grenvill, Zealands braue coaster
 Drake, doomes, drowne, death, Spaines scorner ,
 Gosnolds Relates, Piing prime observer*

*Though these be gone, and left behinde a name ,
 Yet Smith is here to Anvile out a peece
 To after Ages, and eternall Fame ,
 That we may haue the golden Iasons fleece*

*He Vulcan like did for ge a tue Plantatiōn ,
 And chain'd their Kings, to his immortall glory ,
 Restoring peace and plentie to the Nation ,
 Regaining honour to this worthy Story*

*By him the Infidels had due correction ,
 He blew the bellowes still of peace and plentie
 He made the Indians bow unto subjection ,
 And Planteris ne're return'd to Albion empty.*

The Colonies pin'd, staru'd, staring, bones so feeble,
 By his braue projects, proued strong againe
 The Souldiers' lowance he did seeke to treble,
 And made the Salvage in uncouth place remaine.

[1624]

He left the Countrey in prosperous happie state,
 And plenty stood with peace at each mans doore :
 Regarding not the Salvage loue nor hate
 Themselues grew well, the Indians wondrous poore

This there he did and now is home return'd,
 To shew vs all that never thither goe
 That in his heart, he deepeley oft hath mourn'd,
 Because the Action goeth on so slow

Wise, Rich
 graue, prize
 Braue, Benefactors,
 Replant, want, continue still good Actors
 finde, bring
 kinde, eyes
 Be to blind,
 By Gods great might, gne Indians light.
 Bloud,
 money, to
 doe
 Spend that good,
 That may gne Indians heav'nly food
 no lesse,
 God you
 still
 And shall blesse ;
 Both you and yours the Lands possesse

S M

See here behold as in a Glassee,
 All that is, or is and was

T T 1624



*Samuel Purchas of his friend
Captaine John Smith, and his
Virginia.*

[1624]



Oe here SMITHS Forge, where Forgery's Roague-branded,
True Pegasus is shoo'd, fetters are forged
For Silke-sotts, Milk-sops, base Sloth, farre hence landed, [chaged,
(Soile-chang'd, Soule-soil'd still) Englands dregs, dis-to plant (supplant') Virginia, home-disgorged
Where vertues praise frames good men Stories as mour
'Gainst Time, Achilles-like, with best Aits charged,
Pallas, all-arm'd, all-learn'd, can teach Sword-Grammer,
Can Pens of Pikes, Aimes t' Aits, to Scholar, Souldier hammer.

* Cælum non
mutant

Can Pilgrim make a Maker, all so well
Hath taught Smith scouse my rustic out-worne Muse,
And so conur'd her in Virginian Cell,
That things unlearned long by want of vse,
Shee fresh aneeds me read, without abuse

By fabling Aithuis great Acts little made
By greater lies she saith, seales Faith excuse
^T' Island, Gionoland, Estotiland to wade
After lie-legends, Malgo, Brandon, are Waires braide

a These are
the Islands
and Countries
that have
been in the
North parts
of America

b He is said
to discov're
the Pole
x, 200

c Madoc ap
Owen
Planted
some remote
Western
parts x, 170

The Fryer of Linne^b frights her with his black Art,
Nor Brittish Baids can tell where Madoc^c planted
Cabots, Thorns, Elyots truth haue wonne her heart,
Eldest discov'res of New Woilds Cont'nen't (granted
So had just Fates) Colon and Vespuce panted,
This got the name^d, last, least of Three, the Other
New Worlds Isles found first Cabot is most chantred
In Three-Mens-song, did more New Woild discover
Then both, then any, an hundred degrees coasted over

Haile Sir Sebastian, Englands Northern Pole,
Virginia's finder, Virgin Eliza nam'd it,
Gave 't Raleigh. (Rut, Prat, Hoie, I not enrole)
Amadas rites to English right first fram'd it
Lane planted, return'd, nor had English tam'd it
Gieenviles and Whites men all slaine, New Plantation
IAMES founds, Sloth confounds, feare, pride, faction sham'd
it
Smiths Forge mends all, makes chaines for Savage Nation,
Frees, feeds the rest, the rest reade in his Bookes Relation.

d America
named of
Americus
Vespustius,
which did
cover less
than Colon or
Sir Sebas-
tian Cabot,
and the Con-
tinent late
Colon first
found the
Isles 1492
the Conti-
nent 1498
Aboue a
yeare after
Cabot had
don it He
was set forth
by Henry 7
and after by
Hen 8
Knighted,
and made
grand Pilot
of England^f
by Ed 6
Under whom
he procured
the sending
of Sir Jn.^g
Willoughby,
and dis-
covery of
Greenland
and R^heⁱs a
having by
himself dis-
covered on
America
first 67
North lat
to neare 40
South

*Thomas Macarnesse to his
worthy friend and Countryman,
Captaine John Smith*

[1624]



*Ho loues to liue at home, yet looke abroad,
And know both passen and vnpassen road,
The prime Plantation of an vndeclared shore,
The men, the manners, fruitfulness, and storie
Read but this little Booke, and them confesse,
The lesse thou lik'st and lou'st, thou liu'st the
lesse*

*He writ it with great labour, for thy good,
Twice over, now in paper, 'fore in blood,
It cost him deare, both paines, without an ayme
Of priuate profit, for thy publicke gaine
That thou mightst read and know and safly see,
What he by practise, thou by Theologie*

*Commend him for his loyall loving heart,
Or else come mend him, and take thou his part.*



*To his friend Captaine John Smith,
and his Worke*



*Know not how Desert more great can rise,
Then out of Danger t' aye for good mens Good,
Nor who doth better winne th' Olympian prize,
Than he whose Countryses Honor stirres his bloud,
Private respects haue private expectation,
Publicke designes, should publish reputation*

This Gentleman whose Volumne heere is stora'd
With strange discoverie of G O D S strangest Creatures,
Gives vs full view, how he hath Sayl'd, and Oar'd,
And Marcht, full many myles, whose rough defeatin's,
Hath beene as bold, as puissant, vp to binde
Their barbarous strength's, to follow him dog-linde.

[1624]

But wit, nor valour, now adayes payes scores
For estimation, all goes now by wealth,
Or friends, tush! thrust the beggar out of dores
That is not Purse-lyn'd, those which live by stealth
Shall haue their haunts, no matter what's the guest
In many places, monies well come best.

But those who well discerne, esteeme not so
Nor I of thee braue Smith, that hast beat out
Thy Iron thus, though I but little know
To what f' hast seenie, yet I in this am stout
My thoughts, maps to my minde some accidents,
That makes mee see thy greater presidents

Io Done.



To my worthy friend Captaine
John Smith

How great a part of knowledge had wee lost,
Both of Virginia and the Summer Isles,
Had not thy carefull diligence and cost
Infor'm'd vs thus, with thy industrious stile!
Like Cæsar now thou writ'st what thou hast
done,
These acts, this Booke will liue while ther's
a Sunne.

Edw Worseley.

To his much respected Friend
Captaine John Smith.

[1624]

 Nvie avant For Smith, whose Anvill was
Expeience,
Could take his heat, knew how and when
to Strike,
Wrought well this Peece, till Aftei-negligence
Mistaking tempei, Cold, or Scoich'd, or like
Vnskilfull workmen, that can never Fyle
Nor Pollish it, that takes in Foige such toyle
Heere Noble Smith, thou shewest the Tempei true,
Which other Tampring-Tempies never knew
Ro Norton

To his loving friend Captaine
John Smith.

 Here actions speake the praises of a man,
There, Pennes that use to flatter silent be,
Or if they speake, it is to scorne or scanne,
For such with vertue seldome doe agree

When I looke backe on all thy labours past,
Thy travals, perils, losses oft sustaind
By Sea and Land, and (which is worst and last)
Neglect or small rewaid, so dearely gaind

I doe admire thy still undanted spirit,
unweared yet to worke thy Countries good
Thus be thy praise then, due unto thy merit,
For it th' hast venter'd life, and lost thy blood

I 2 3 I. 2 3
Truth, travayle, and Neglect, puite, paunefull, most vnkinde,
I. 2 3 I 2 3
Doth puite, consume, dismay, the soule, the corps, theminde
Edw Ingham.

To my deare friend by true Vertue
ennobled Captaine John Smith



Ore then enough I cannot thee commend
Whose both abilities and Loue doe tend
So to advance the good of that Estate,
By English charge, and Planters propagate
Through herbes of painfull hazards, in the first
Of which, that Colony thy Care hath nurst.
And often that effected but with ten
That after thee, and now, three hundred men
Haue faild in, 'mong the Salvages, who shake
At brunt of Thee, as Spaine at Name of Drake.
Which well appeares, considering the while
Thou governedst, nor force of theirs, ne guile
Lessend a man of thine, but since (I rue)
In Brittish blood they deeply did unbrue
Their Heathen hands And (truth to say) we see,
Our selues wee lost, untimely leaving Thee.
Nor yet perceue I any got betweene
Thee and thy merit, which hath better beene
In prayse, or profit much, if counted iust,
Free from the Weales abuse, or wronged trust.
Some few particulaire perhaps haue sped,
But wherein hath the publicke prospered?
Or is there more of those Vast Countries knowne,
Then by thy Labours and Relations showne
First, best? And shall wee loue Thee now the lesse?
Farre be it! fit condignely to expresse
Thanks, by new Charge, or recompence, by whom,
Such past good hath, such future good may come

[1624]

David Wiffin.

Noble Captaine Smith, my worthy
Friend

[1624]

Not like the Age wherein thou liu'st, to lie
 Buried in basenesse, sloth, or Ribaldrie
 (For most doe thus) hast thou thy selfe applide ;
 But, in faire Actions, Merits height describe
 Which (like fourre Theaters to set thee forth)
 The worlds fourre Quarters testifie thy worth
 The last wherof (America) best shewes
 Thy paines, and prayse , and what to thee shewes owes,
 (Although thy Sommer shone on th' Elder Three,
 In as great Deeds as great varietie)
 For opening to Her Selfe Her Selfe, in Two *
 Of Her large Members, Now Ours, to our view.
 Thereby endearing vs to thy desart,
 That doubly dost them to our hands impart ,
 Theire by thy Woike, Heeke by thy Woikes , By each
 Maist thou Fames lasting Wreath (for guerdon) reach
 And so become, in after Times t' ensue,
 A President for others, So to doe

William Gient.



To his worthily affected Friend,
 Captaine Iohn Smith.



Mongst so many that by learned skill,
 Haue given just prayse to thee, and to thy Booke,
 Deare friend receive this pledge of my good will,
 Whereon, if thou with acceptation looke,
 And thinke it worthie, ranke amongst the
 rest
 Vse thy discretion, I haue done my best
 Αγώνι μος.



The Contents of the generall History, divided into six Books.

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- 1170 **H**E first voyage to the new World,
by Madock Prince of Wales The
next by Hanno Prince of Carthage,
and how it was offred K Hen 7 by
1488 Chr Cullumbus, that vndirtooke it for the
1492 Spanyards 1492 [p 303]
- How Iohn Cabot was imployed by King
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was called Virginia by Queene Elizabeth
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- 1585 Sir Richard Greenvill sent thither with 108
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- The Observations of Master Heriot Of their
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- 1586 Sir Rich Gieenvill sent to supply them Not
finding them, left fiftie Their successe page 13 [p 325]
- 1587 Master White sent to relieu them, found they
were all slaine, yet left 115 more, and departed [p 326]
- 1589 Returning the second time, he could not heare
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14—16 [p 329]
- 1602 A discovery by Captaine Gosnoll of Eliza-
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- The voyage of Captaine Pring to the same
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- 1603 The discovery of Captaine Waymouth, his
Observations, Relations, and returne pag
18—20 [p 337]
- 1605 A Map of the old Virginia, with the figures
of the Salvages. [To face p 342]



THE SECOND BOOKE.

Of *Virginia* now planted, discovered by
Captaine SMITH

- 1606 **H**e Latitude, Temperature, and
Capes, a description of Chisa-
peack Bay, and seaven navigable
Rivers that fall into it, with their
severall Inhabitants, and diversitie of Lan-
guage pag 21—25 [p 343]
- Of things growing Naturally, as woods, fruits,
gummes, berries, herbs, roots, also of beasts,
birds, and fishes, how they divide the yeare,
prepare their ground, plunt their corne, and use
it and other victuall pag 25—29 [p 352]
- What commodities may be had by industry

- [1607-9] *The description of the people, their numbers, constitutions, dispositions, attyre, buildings, lodgings and gardens, their usage of children, striking of fire, making their Bowes and Arrowes, kniucs, swords, targets, and boats how they spinne, make fish-hooks, and ginnes, and their order of hunting Consultations and order in Warres pag 29—33 [p 359]*
Their musicke, entertainment, trade, Physicke, Chirurgery and Charmes Their Religion, God, burials ordinary and extraordinary, Temples, Priests, Ognaments, solemnities, Coniurations, Altars, sacrifices, black boyes, and resurrection pag 34—36 [p 368]
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And a Mappe of the Countrey of Virginia now planted. [To face p 384]



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- 1606  *Her orders of government, Accidents in going, first landing and government settel pag 41—42 [p 385]*
- 1607  *The Salvages assault the Fort, the ships retorne, their names [who] were left, occasion of sicknes, plenty unexpected, the building of Iames Towne, the beginning of Trade, two projects to abandon the Country pag 43—46 [p 388]*
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[1607] taine Smith taken prisoner, their order of Triumph, and how he should haue beeene executed, was preserved, saved Iames towne from being surprised, how they Conured him Powhatan entertained him, would haue slaine him, how Pocahontas his daughter saved him, and sent him to Iames Towne The third plot to abandon the Countrey suppressed pag 47—49

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- [1608] *The Presidency surrendred to Captaine Smith*
The second Supply by Captaine Newport, many
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- Their escape at Pamavkee The Dutchmen*
deceerne Captaine Winne, and arme the Sal-
vages, sixteene English beset by seven hundred
Salvages, Smith takes their King Opechan-
kanough prisoner, the Salvages excuse and
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- Master Scivenei and others drowned, Master*
Wiffins desperate iourney to Pamavkee,
Powhatan constraines his men again to be
trecherous, he is forced to fraught their Ship;
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pag 80—82 [p. 460]
- The Dutch-mens plot to murther Smith.*
He taketh the King of Paspahegh prisoner,
and oþers, they become all subiect to the
English pag. 84 [p. 467]

[J. Smith
July 1624]

- [1609] *A Salvage smoothered, yet recovered, three or foure Salvages slaine in drying stolne powder. Great extremitie occasioned by rats, Bread made of dried Surgeon, the punishment for loyterers, the discovery of the Mangoags Capitaine Argals first arrivall, the inconveniences in a Plantation p 84—89* [p. 469]
- 1609 *The government altered, the arrivall of the third Supply, mutinies, Nandsamund planted, breach of peace with the Salvages, Powhatans chiefe seat bought for Copper, Mutinies pag 90 91* [p. 478]
- Captaine Smith blowne vp with Gun-powder, a bloody intent, the causes why he left the Country and his Commission, his returne for England; the ends of the Dutch-men* [p. 484]
- Certaine Verses of seaven Gentlemen p 95* [p. 491]



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With their Proceedings after the alteration
of the Government

- H**ow the mutiners proceeded, the Salvages revolt, the planting point Comfort Them at Nandsamund, and the Fals, defeated by the Salvages Capitaine Rat[c]liff, with thirtie slaine by Powhatan The fruits of impiovdence
- 1610 *The arrivall of Sir Thomas Gates Iames Towne abandoned The arrivall of the Lord La Warre, their actions, and both their returnes pag 105—108* [p. 497]
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- The second arrivall of Sir Thomas Gates,*

- 1612 *the building Henerico, and the Beimudas; how Captaine Argall tooke Pocahontas prisoner Dales voyage to Pamaynkee The*
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- 1614 *The government left to Sir Thomas Dale Captaine Aigals voyage to port Royall. Master Hamers to Powhatan, and their Accidents pag 115 116* [p 517]
- 1615 *The manner of the Lottery A Spanish Shippe in Virginia Dale with Pocahontas comes for England Captaine Yeiley left Deputy Governour, his warres and peace with the Chickahamanians, and proceedings pag 117—121* [p 522]
- 1616 *A relation to Queene Anne of the quality and condition of Pocahontas, how the Queen entertained her, Captaine Aigall sent governor, the death of Powhatan, ten English slaine, Aigals accidents and proceedings The Lord de la Waire sent againe governour, his death A relation of their present estates Haile-stones 8 inches about pag 121—125* [p 530]
- 1619 *Sir George Yeiley sent governor, Waaskoyack planted A parliament in Viginia, foure Corporations appointed, the adventures of Captaine Waid, the number of ships and men sent this yeare, gifts given, Patents granted pag 125—127* [p 540]
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- 1621 *Notes and observations A relation of their estates by Master Stockam The arrivall of Sir Francis Wyat with nine ships Master Gockings plantation, and their accidents, the number of ships and men sent this yeare, gifts given, Patents granted p 139—141* [p 561]
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- 1622 *Captaine Each sent to build Forts and Barks The cause and manner of the Massacre, the numbers slaine, the providence of Captaine Nuse, Captaine Chroshaw his voyage to Patowomek pag 143—151* [p. 570]
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- 1623 *The losse of Captaine Spilman and 26 men A particular of such necessaries as are fit for private persons or families pag. 161 162* [p. 606]
- 1624 *A briefe relation by Captaine Smith to his Mairties Commissioners, for the reformation of Virginia The 7 questions the right Worthie Commissioners demanded, and his answers, how the King hath pleased to take it into his consideration pag 163—168* [p. 610]
At this present two ships are going, more a preparing, new Comissions sent A Proclamation, no Tobacco be used in England, but what shall come from Virginia, or the Somer Isles, quere [i e, see] the Proclamation.



THE FIFTH BOOKE.



- Mappe of the Somei Isles and
Foulesseſſes [To face p 624] The
deſcription of the Isles, the fruits,
fishes, ſoyle, ayre, beaſts, birds,
with the relation of the ſhipwrack of Heniy*
- 1593 May pag 169—173 [p 625]
- 1609 *The ſhipwrack of Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir*
- 1610 *George Somers, their accidents, deliverance
and arrivall in Virginia. Someis returne to
the Isles, his death, and Epitaph, the accidents*
- 1611 *hapned, three men lived there alone two yeareſ
pag 174—177* [p 635]
- 1612 *Master More ſent to make a plantation A
peece of Amber Grece found of 80 pound
weight, much diſſenſion, Moies induſtrie in
fortifying and waighing Ordnance out of the*
- 1613 *wracks Their firſt Supply, a ſtrange increase
of Potatoes The attempt of 2 Spanish ſhips;
a great mortality, a ſtrange being of Ravens,*
- 1614 *a new Supply, with their Accidents, and
Mooies returne pag 177—180* [p 642]
- 1615 *The rent [rule] of the ſix governoūrs, a won-
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- 1616 *The governement of Captaine Tuckar, Assiſſes,
the ſtrange adventure of 5 men in a boat, plants
from the West Indies, the endevours of Cap-*
- 1617 *taine Powell, Assiſſes The Country neer de-
voued with rats, their ſtrange conuſion*
- 1618 *The diſtributions of the Isles into Tribes, and
Tribes into ſhares, by Master Noiwood, the
names of the adventurers, and their ſhares
pag 182—189* [p 653]
- The firſt Magazin, two exployts of deſperate
fugitives The returne of Captaine Tuckar.
Captaine Kendall left deputy-governor, and
their Accidents. pag 189—191* [p 665]
- 1619 *The governement of Captaine Butler, A plat-*

- [1619] forme burnt, and much hurt by a Hericano
 The refortifying the Kings Castle The ar-
 rivall of two Dutch Frigots The rebuilding
 the Mount, and a Tombe for Sir George
 Someis The reformation of their lawes and
 officers Their Assises A Parliament Their
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 ing three Bridges The generall Assises, A
 1620 strange deliverance of a Spanish wracke A
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 wracks Their estates present pag 191—199 [p 669]
 1622 Master Barnard sent to be governour, his
 arrivall, death, and funerall, with the pro-
 ceedings of Master Harrison his successor,
 1623 and Captaine Woodhouse their governor
 1624 pag 200—201. [p 687]
 Certaine Verses of Master Withers, and other
 Gentlemen. [p 689]

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THE SIXT BOOKE.

-  Mappe of New England [State IV, see p cxviv To face p 694] How this countrey hath bin accounted but a miserable Desert
 1614 Captain Smith's first voyage, what peace and warres he had with the Salvages, and within 6 moneths returned with 1500l worths of commodities, got Prince Chailes to call it New-England A Table of the old names and the new pag 203—205 [p 695]
 Captaine Hobsons voyage to Capan, the Londoners apprehend it The situation notes for ignorant undertakers The description of the Country Staple Commodities, present proofe of the healthfullnesse of the clime Observations of the Hollanders chife trade pag 209 [p 701]

- [1614] Examples of the altitude comparatiuely, the reasons why to plant it An example of the gaines every yeare, a description of 15 severall Countries in particular Of their Kings, rivers, harbors, Isles, mountains, landmarks, fruits, woods, birds, fishes, beasts, &c and how as well Gentlemen, as mechaniacks, may be employed, and get much wealth, with the reasons and causes of the defaylements pag 206—221 [p 710]
- 1615 Captaine Smiths second voyage, his ship neere foundered in the Sea, He reimbarketh himselfe, incountreth the English Pyrats, fought with the French Pyrates, is betrayed by 4 French men of warre, how he was released, his men ran from him with ship and all, how he lived with the French men, what fights they had, what prizes they tooke, the French mens ingratitude 13 sayle cast away how he escaped, proceeded in France, returned for England, and punished them [that] ran from him pag. 222—227. [p 731]
- 1617 The yearlye trials of New-England, the benefit of fishing, as Master Dee, and divers report, and approoved by the Hollandeis Records, 1618 how it becomes so well apprehended, that more then 150 haue gone thither to fish, with an estimate of their gaines, with many observations and Accidents pag 228—230 [p 743]
- 1620 A Plantation in New-England, their first landing, divers iourneys and accidents, the description of the harbors, bayes, lakes, and that place they inhabit, called New-Plimouth, conference with the Salvages, and kinde vsage of the King of the Massasoyts, a strange policie of Tusquantum pag 230—234 [p 749]
- 1621 The Salvages make warres for their friendships, the English revenge their friends iniurys. 1622 Notes and observations They lived two yeaeres without Supplyes, the death of Tusquantum, they contrieue to murther the English, how the English did cure a King sicke to death, two

*most desperate Salvages, the courage of Cap-
taine Standish, the Salvages sue for peace
pag 235—239 .*

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- 1623 *A most remarkable observation of Gods loue
40 sayle fished there this yeare, the religion of
the Salvages, the government, an answer to
objections, considerations, the charge, the
order of the Western men pag 140—142*

[p. 766]

*The effects of shipping, the Popes order for
the East and West Indies How to build a little
navy royall, contention for New-England
The necessarie of martiall power pag 243—244*

[p. 773]

- 1624 *The charge to set forth a ship of a 100 tons,
both to make a fishing voyage, and increase the
plantation The facilite of the fishing lately
observed Their present estate at New-Plim-
outh, and order of government*

[p. 778]

Its not his part that is the best Translator,
To render woid for word to eveiy Author.



[*The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, & the Summer Isles*

THE FIRST BOOK.

1624

The English voyages to the old Virginia.

1584-1605.]

[This First Book is merely an Abridgement of the earlier English voyages to Virginia, compiled from various publications, by Captain JOHN SWINH, for the most part in 1622, p. 331.]



HOW
ANCIENT AVTHORS
REPORT, THE NEVV-VVORLD,

Now called *America*, was discovered and part
thereof first Planted by the ENGLISH, called
VIRGINIA, with the Accidents and
Proceedings of the same



The first Booke.

[1170]
OR the Stories of *Arthur*, *Malgo*, and
Brandon, that say a thousand yeares
agoe they were in the Noith of *America*;
or the Fyfei of *Linn* that by his blacke
Art went to the North pole in the yeare
1360 in that I know them not Let
this suffice

The Chronicles of *Wales* report, that 1170
Maddock, sonne to *Owen Quineth*, Prince of *Wales* seeing his
two brethren at debate who should inheret, prepared certaine
Ships, with men and munition, and left his Country
to seeke aduentures by Sea leauing *Ireland* Noith he
sayled west till he came to a Land vnowne Returning
home and relating what pleasant and fruitfull Countries he
had seene without Inhabitants, and for what barren ground
his brethren and kindred did murthe one another, he pro-
vided a number of Ships, and got with him such men and
women as were desirous to liue in quietnesse, that arriued

[1170–
1583] with him in this new Land in the yeare 1170 Left many of his people there and retuined for moie. But where this place was no Histoy can show

1492 The Spanyards say *Hanno* a Prince of *Carthage* was the first and the next *Christopher Cullumbus*, a Genoesian, whom they sent to discover those vñknowne parts 1492

1497 But we finde by Recoids, *Cullumbus* offereid his seruice in the yeare 1488 to King *Henry* the seuenth, and by accident vndertooke it for the Spanyards In the Inteium King *Henry* gaue a Commission to *John Cabot*, and his thrie sonnes, *Sebastian*, *Lewis*, and *Santius* *John* and *Sebastian* well provided, setting sayle, ranged a great part of this vñknowne wold, in the yeare 1497 For though *Cullumbus* had found certaine Iles, it was 1498 ere he saw the Continent, which was a yeare after *Cabot* Now *Americus* came a long time after, though the whole Continent to this day is called *America* after his name, yet *Sebastian Cabot* discouered much more then them all, for he sayled to about forty degrees Southward of the lyne, and to sixty-seauen towards the Noith for which King *Henry* the eight Knighted him and made him grand Pilate of *England* Being very aged King *Edward* the sixth gaue him a Pention of 166l 13s 4d yearely By his directions Sir *Hugh Willowby* was sent to finde out the Country of *Russia*, but the next yeare he was found fiozen to death in his Ship, and all his Company

1576 Master *Martin Frobisher* was sent in the yeare 1576 by our most gracious Queene *Elizabeth*, to search for the Northwest passage, and *Meta incognita* for which he was Knighted, honored, and well rewaided

1583 Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* a worthy Knight attempted a Plantation in some of those paits and obtained Letters Pattents to his desire but with this *Proviso*, He should [2] maintaine possession in some of those vast Countiess within the teaime of sixe yeaeres Yet when he was provided with a Navy able to incouter a Kings power, even here at home they fell in diuisions, and so into confusion, that they gaue oer the Designe ere it was begun, notwithstanding all this losse, his vndanted spirit began againe, but his Fleet fell with *New-found land*, and he perished in his retuine, as at laige you may read in the

third Volume of the English Voyages, written by Mastei [1583-4] Hacklbut [in 1599-1600].

Vpon all those Relations and inducements, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a noble Gentleman, and then in great esteeme, vndertooke to send to discover to the Southward. And though his occasions and other imployments were such he could not goe himselfe, yet he procured her Maiesties Letteis Pattents, and perswaded many worthy Knights and Gentlemen to adventure with him to finde a place fit for a Plantation. Their Pioceedings followeth.

The most famous, renowned, and euer worthy of all 1584 memoiy, for her courage, leaining, judgement, and vertue, Queene *Elizabeth*, granted her Letters Patents to Sir *Walter Raleigh* for the discouering and planting new Lands and Countries, not actually possessed by any Christians. This Patenty got to be his assistants Sir *Richard Grenvill* the valiant, Master *William Sanderson* a great fiend to all such noble and worthy actions, and divers other Gentlemen and Marchants, who with all speede prouided two small Baikes well fuenished with all necessaries, vnder the command of Captaine *Philip Amidas* and Captaine *Barlow*. The 27 of Aprill [1584] they set sayle from the Thames, the tenth of May passed the *Canaries*, and the tenth of Iune the West Indies which vnneedfull Southerly course, (but then no better was knowne) occasioned them in that season much sicknessse.

The second of July [1584] theyfell wth the coast of *Florida* in shoule water, where they felt a most delicate sweete smell, though they saw no land, which ere long they espied, thinking it the Continent an hundred and twenty myles they sayled not finding any harbor. The first that appeared with much difficulty they entred, and anchored, and after thankes to God they went to view the next Land adioyning to take possession of it for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie which done, they found their first landing place very sandy and low, but so full of grapes that the very surge of the Sea sometimes over-flowed them of which they found such plenty in all places, both on the sand, the greene soyle and hils, as in the plaines as well on euery little shrub, as also climbing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that they did thinke in the world were not the like abundance

Their arrival

Abundance
of Grapes

[1584]

The Ile of
*Wokokon*In *Lybanus*
are not
manyConference
with a
SalvageThe Annall
of the Kings
brother

We passed by the Sea-side towards the tops of the next hills being not high from whence we might see the Sea on both sides, and found it an Ile of twentie myles in length, and six in breadth, the vallyes replenished with goodly tall Cedars Discharging our Muskets, such a flocke of Cianes, the most white, arose by vs, with such a cry as if an Army of men had shouted altogether This Ile hath many goodly Woods, and Deere, Conies, and Foule in incideble abundance, and vsing the Authors owne phisice, the Woods are not such as you finde in *Bohemia*, *Moscovia*, or *Hercyna*, bairen and fruitlesse, but the highest and ieddest Cedars of the wold, bettering them of the Assoies, Indies, or *Libanus* Pynes, Cypres, Saxebras, the Lentisk that beareth Mastick, and many other of excellent smell and qualitie Till the third day we saw not any of the people, then in a little Boat three of them appeared, one of them went on shoie, to whom wee rowed, and he attended vs without any signe of feare; after he had spoke much though we vnderstood not a word, of his owne accord he came boldly aboord vs, we gaue him a shirt, a hat, wine and meate, which he liked well, and after he had well viewed the baikes and vs, he went away in his owne Boat, and within a quarter of a myle of vs in halfe an houre, had loaden his Boat with fish, with which he came againe to the poynt of land, and therē devided it in two parts, poynting one part to the Ship, the other to the Pinnace, and so departed [3]

The next day came diuers Boats, and in one of them the Kings Brother, with forty or fifty men, proper people, and in their behauour very ciuill, his name was *Grangananeo*, the King is called *Wingina*, the Country *Wingandacoa* Leauing his Boats a little from our Ships, he came with his traine to the poynt where spreding a Matte he sat downe Though we came to him well armed, he made signes to vs to sit downe without any shew of feare, stroking his head and biest, and also ours, to expresse his loue After he had made a long speech vnto vs, we presented him with diuers toyes, which he kindly accepted He was greatly iegarded by his people, for none of them did sit, nor speake a word, but fowle, on whom we bestowed presents also, but he tooke all from them, making signes all things did belong to him.

The King himselfe in a conflict with a King his next neighbour and moitall enemy, was shot in two places through the body, and the thigh, yet recouered whereby he lay at his chiefe towne six dayes iourney from thence

[1584]

A day or two after shewinge them what we had, *Granganameo* taking most liking to a Pewter dish, made a hole in it, hung it about his necke for a biest-plate for which he gaue vs twenty Deeere skins, woth twenty Crownes, and for a Coppe Kettell, fiftie skins, worth fiftie Crownes Much othei trucke we had, and after two dayes he came aboord, and did eate and drinke with vs very merrily Not long after he brought his wife and childien, they were but of meane stature, but well fauoured and veiy bashfull, she had a long coat of Leather, and about her privities a peice of the same, about her forehead a band of white Corrall, and so had her husband, in her eares were bracelets of pearle, hanging downe to her middle, of the bignesse of great Pease, the rest of the women had Pendants of Coppe, and the Noblemen fife or sixe in an eare, his appairell as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire long on both sides, and the men but on one, they are of colour yellow, but then hayie is blacke, yet we saw children that had very fayre Chesnut coloured hayre

Trade wth.
the
Salvages

After that these women had beene here with vs, there came downe from all parts great store of people, with Leather, Corrall, and diuers kinde of dyes, but when *Granganameo* was present, none durst trade but himselfe, and them that wore red Copper on their heads, as he did. When euer he came, he would signifie by so many fires he came with so many boats, that we might know his strength. Their Boats aie but one great tiee, which is but burnt in the forme of a tiough with gins and fife, till it be as they would haue it For an armour he would haue ingaged vs a bagge of pearle, but we refused, as not regarding it, that wee might the bettei learn where it giew He was very iust of his promise, for oft we trusted him, and he would come within his day to keepe his word He sent vs comonly euery day a brace of Bucks, Conies, Haires, and fish, sometimes Mellons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Pease, and diuers rootes This Author sayth, their corne Note groweth three times in fife moneths; in May they sow,

[1584] in July reape, in Iune they sow, in August 1eape, in July sow, in August 1eape We put some of oui Pease in the ground, which in ten dayes were 14 ynches high

The soyle is most plentifull, sweete, wholesome, and fruitfull of all other, there are about 14 seuerall sorts of sweete smelling tymber trees the most parts of the vndeirwood, Bayes and such like such Okes as we, but far greater and bette

After this acquaintance, my selfe with seauen moie went twenty myle into the Riuier *Occam*, that runneth toward the Cittie *Skicoack*, and the euening following we came to an Ile called *Roanoak*, from the haibour where we entied 7 leagues, at the North end was 9 houses, builded with Cedar, fortified round with sharpe trees, and the entrance like a Tunpik When we came towards it, the wife of *Granganameo* came running out to meeete vs, (her husband was absent) commanding her people to draw our Boat ashore for beating on the billowes, other she appoynted to cairy vs on their backes aland, otheis to bring our Ores into the house for [4] stealing When we came into the other roome, (for there was fие in the house) she caused vs to sit downe by a great fire, after tooke off our clothes and washed them, of some our stockings, and some our feete in warme water, and she her selfe tooke much paines to see all things well ordered, and to provide vs victuall

The Ile Roanoak

The great courtesy of a Woman

A banquet

After we had thus dried our selues, she brought vs into an Inner roome, where she set on the bord standing a long the house somewhat like fumentie, sodden venison, and rosted fish, in like manner mellons raw, boyled rootes and fruities of diuers kindes. The[1]re drinke is commonly water boyled with Gingel, sometimes with Saxebras, and wholsome heibes, but whilst the Grape lasteth they drinke wine More loue she could not expresse to entertaine vs, they care but onely to defend themselues from the short winter, and feede on what they finde naturall in sommer In this feasting house was their Idol of whom they tould vs vncredible things When we were at meate two or three of her men came amongst vs with their Bowes and Arrowes, which caused vs to take our armes in hand She perceiving our distiust, caused their Bowes and Arrowes to be broken, and they beaten

out of the gate but the euening approaching we returned to our boate, where at she much gueuing brought oui supper halfe boyled, pots and all, but when she saw vs but put our boat a little off from the shoar and lye at Anchor, perceiuing oui Ielousie, she sent diuers men and 30 women to sit al night on the shoarie side against vs, and sent vs fife Mats to couer vs from the raine, doing all she could to perswade vs to her house Though there was no cause of doubt, we would not aduentuie for on our safety depended the voyage but a more kinde louing people cannot be.

[1584]

Beyond this Ile is the maine land and the great riuier *Occam*, on which standeth a Towne called *Pomeiock*, and six dayes higher, their City *Skicoak* those people neuere saw it, but say the[i]re fathers affirme it to be aboue two houres iourney about Into this riuier falleth an other called *Cypo*, wherie is found many Mustells wherein are Pearles likewise another Riuier called *Nomapona*, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called *Chawanock*, the Lord of the Country is not subiect to *Wingandacoa* Beyond him an other king they cal *Menatonon* These 3 are in league each with other Towards the south 4 dayes iourney is *Sequatan*, the southeimest part of *Wingandacoa*

*Skicoak a
geat town*

Adioynng to *Secotan* beginneth the country *Pomouik*, belonging to the King called *Priamacum*, in the Countiy *Nusirok* vpon the great riuier *Neus* These haue mortall waries with *Wingina*, King of *Wingandacoa* Betwixt *Priamacum* and the Loid of *Secotan*, a peace was concluded: notwithstanding there is a mortall malice in the *Secotans*, because this *Priamacum* invited diuers men, and 30 women to a feast, and when they were altogether merry befoire their Idol, which is but a meeie illusion of the Deuill, they sudainly slew all the men of *Secotan*, and kept the women for their vse Beyond *Roanoak* are many Isles full of fruits and other Natuall incieases, with many Townes a long the side of the Continent Those Iles lye 200 myles in length, and betweene them and the mayne, a great long sea, in some places 20. 40 or 50 myles broad, in other more, somewhere lesse And in this sea are 100 Iles of diuers bignesses, but to get into it, you haue but 3 passages and they very dangeious

Though this you see for most part be but the relations of

[1584-5] Saluages, because it is the first, I thought it not a misse to remember them as they are written by them that returned and arived in *England* about the middest of September [1584] the same yeare

How the
Country
was called
Virginia

This discouery was so welcome into *England* that it pleased her Maiestie to call this Country of *Wingandacoa, Virginia*, by which name now you aie to vnderstand how it was planted, dissolved, renued, and enlarged

The Performers of this voyage were these following.

<i>Philip Amadas</i>	<i>Captaines</i>	<i>William Grenvill</i>
<i>Arthur Barlow</i>		<i>John Wood</i>
		<i>Iapies Browewich</i>
		<i>Henry Greene</i>
		<i>Beniamen Wood</i>
		<i>Simon Ferdinando</i>
		<i>Nicholas Peryman</i>
		<i>John Hewes</i>
		<i>Of the Com- panie</i>
		[5]



Sir Richard Grenvills voyage to *Virginia*, for
Sir Walter Raleigh 1585

Sir Richard
Grenvill
voyage
1585

GHe 9 of Aprill he departed from *Plimouth* with 7 sayle the chiefe men with him in command, were Master *Ralph Layne*, Master *Thomas Candish*, Master *John Aruwidel*, Master *Stukley*, Master *Bremige*, Mastei *Vincent*, Master *Heryot* and Master *John Clarke*. The 14 day we fell with the *Canaries*, and the 7 of May with *Dominico* in the *West Indies*: we landed at *Portorico*, after with much a doe at *Izabella* on the noith of *Hispaniola*, passing by many Iles Vpon the 20 we fell with the mayne of *Florida*, and were put in great danger vpon Cape *Fear*. The 26 we Anchored at *Wocokon*, where the admiral [flag-ship] had like to beene cast away presently we sent to *Wingina* to *Roanoak*, and Master *Arundell* went to the mayne, with *Manteo* a saluage, and that day to *Crooton*.

The 11 The Generall victualled for 8 dayes, with a selected company went to the maine, and discouveied the Townes of *Pomeiok*, *Aquascogoc*, *Secotan*, and the gieat Lake called *Paquipe* At *Aquascogoc* the Indians stole a siluer Cup, wherefore we burnt the Towne and spoyled their corne, so returned to our fleete at *Tocokon*

[1585]

Whence we wayed for *Hatorask*, wheie we rested, and *Granganineo*, King *Wingina*'s brother with *Manteo* came abord our Admirall, the Admirall went for *Weapomeiok*, and Master *John Arundell* for *England*

Our Geneiall in his way home tooke a rich loaden ship of 300 tunns, with which he arived at *Plimouth* the 18.
of September 1585

These were left vnder the command of Master *Ralph Layne* to inhabite the Country, but they returned within a yeare

Philip Amidas Admirall.
Master Thomas Heryot
Master Acton
Master Stafford
Master Thomas Luddington
Master Maruyn
Captaine Vaghan.
Master Kendall.
Master Gardiner.
Master Predeox

Master Rogers.
Master Haruy.
Master Snelling
Master Antony Russe
Master Allen
Master Michaell Pollison
Master Thomas Bockner
Master James mason.
Master David Salter.
Master James Skinner.

With diuers others to the number of 108

Touching the most remarkeable things of the Countiy and our proceeding from the 17 of August 1585 till the 18. of June 1586 we made *Roanoack* our habitation

Their first
Plantation

The vtmost of our discouery Southward was *Secotan* as we esteemed 80 leagues from *Roanoacke* The passage from thence was thought a broad sound within the maine, being without kenning of land, yet full of flats and shoudls that our Pinnasse could not passe, and we had but one boat with 4 ores, that would carry but 15 men with their prouisions for 7. dayes so that because the winter appraoched we left those discoueries till a strongei supply

[1585-6] To the Northward, ouer faistest was to a Towne of the Chesapeacks, from Roanoack 130 myles. The passage is very shallow and dangerous by reason of the breadth of the sound and the little succour for a storme, but this territorie being 15 myle from the shoare, for pleasantnesse of seate, for temperature of climate, fertility of soyle and comoditie of the Sea, besides beaies, good woods, Saxebras, Walnuts, &c is not to be excelled by any other whatsoeuer.

There be sundry other Kings they call Weroances as the Mangoacks, Trypaniks and opposians, which came to visit vs.

Chawonock. To the northwest our farthest was Chawonock from Roanoack 130 myles ouer [6] passage lyeth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the channell Navigable for a Ship, but out of it full of shoules.

The townes by the way by the water, are Passaquinock the womens towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeok, from Muscavunge wee enter the riuier and iurisdiction of Chawonock, there it beginneth to straiten, and at Chawonock it is as Thames at Lambeth betwixt them as we passed is goodly high land on the left hand, and there is a towne called Ohanock, where is a great coine field, it is subiect to Chawonock, which is the greatest Prouince vpon the riuier, and the Towne it selfe can put seuen hundred men into the field, besides the forces of the rest. The King is lame, but hath more vnderstanding then all the rest.

The river of Moratoc is more famous then all the rest, and openeth into the sound of Weapomeok, and where there is but a very small currant in Chawonock, it hath so strong a currant from the Southwest, as we doubted how to row against it. Strange things they report of the head of this riuier, and of Moratoc it selfe, a principall towne on it, and is thirtie or foortie dayes Journey to the head. This lame King [of Chawonock] is called Menatonon. When I had him prisoner two dayes, he told mee that 3 dayes Journey in a Canow vpp the riuier Chawonock, then landing and going foure dayes Journey Northeast, there is a King whose Country lyeth on the Sea, but his best place of strenght is an Iland in a Bay imured with deepe water, where he taketh that abundance of Pearle, that not onely his skins, and his nobles, but also his beds and houses are garnished theire-

*Chawonock
two men*

*Menatonon
his Relations
of the Isle of
Pearle, and
a rich Mine,
and the Sea
by it*

with This king was at *Chawonock* two yeares agoe [1584] [1585-6] to traide with blacke pearle, his worst sort whereof I had a iope, but they were naught, but that King he sayth hath store of white, and had trafficke with white men, for whom he reserued them, he promised me guides to him, but aduis'd me to goe strong, for he was vnwilling straungeis should come in his Country, for his Country is populous and valiant men If a supply had come in Apill, I iesolued to haue sent a small Barke to the Northward to haue found it, whilst I with small Boates and 200 men would haue gone to the head of the riuer *Chawonock*, with sufficient guides by land, inskonsing my selfe euery two dayes, where I would leauue Garisons for my retreat, till I came to this Bay

Very neare vnto it is the riuier of *Moratoc*, directly from the West, the head of it springeth out of a mayne Rocke, which standeth so neare the Sea, that in stormes the Sea beats ouer it into this fleshi spiring, that of it selfe at the swise is a violent stieame I intended with two Wheiries and foitie persons to haue *Menatonons* sonne for guide, to try this presently, till I could meete with some of the *Moratocks*, or *Mangoaks*, but hoping of getting moie victuall from the Saluages, we as narrowly escaped staruung in that Discouery as euer men did

For *Pemissapan* who had changed his name of *Wingina* upon the death of his brother *Grangana neo*, had giuen both the *Chawonests*, and *Mangoaks* woid of my purpose also he told me the *Chawonocks* had assembled two or thhee thousand to assault me at *Roanok*, vrging me daily to goe against them, and them against vs, a great assembly I found at my comming thether, which suddaine appioach did so dismay them, that we had the bettei of them and this confederacy against vs was procured by *Pemissapan* himselfe oui chiefe fiend [as] we trusted, he sent word also to the *Moratoks* and the *Mangoaks*, I came to inuade them, that they all fled vp into the high Country, so that where I assured my selfe both of succour and prouision, I found all abandoned

But being thus faile on my iourney 160 myles from home, and but victuals for two dayes, besides the casualties of crosse winds, stormes, and the Saluages trechery,

Pemissapan
his treachery

The dis-
couery of
the riuier
Moratoc

^{A noble resolution} [1585-6] though we intended no hurt to any I gaue my Company to vnderstand we were onely drawne forth vpon these vaine hopes by the Saluages to bring vs to confusion a Councell we held, to goe foaward or returme, but they all were absolutely resolued but three, that whilst there was but one pynt of Corne for a man, they would not leauue the search of that riuell, for they had two Mastiue Dogs, which boyled with Saxebras leaues (if the worst fell [7] out), vpon them and the pottage they would liue two dayes, which would bring them to the sound, where they should finde fish for two dayes more to passe it to Roanock, which two dayes they had rather fast then goe backe a foote, till they had seene the *Mangoaks* eithera as friends or foes

<sup>The strange
Vine of
Chawas
Temoatan</sup>

^{1st 111,416} Though I did forsee the danger and misery, yet the desire I had to see the *Mangoaks* was, for that there is a prouince called *Chawis Temoatan*, frequented by them and well knowne to all those Countries, where is a mine of Copper they call *Wassador*, they say they take it out of a riuell that falleth swiftly from high rocks in shallow water, in great Bowles, couered with leather, leauing a part open to receiue the metall, which by the change of the colour of the water where the spout falleth, they suddenly chop downe, and haue the Bowlefull, which they cast into the fire, it presently melteth, and doth yeeld in fiew parts at the first melting two parts metall for three of Ore The *Mangoaks* haue such plenty of it, they beautifie their houses with great plates theriof this the Salvages report, and young *Skiko* the King of *Chawonocks* sonne my prisoner, that had beene prisonei among the *Mangoaks*, but neuer at *Chawis Temoatan*, for he sayd that was twentie dayes iourney overland from the *Mangoaks*

Menatonon also confirmed all this, and promised me guid[e]s to this metall Country, by Land to the *Mangoaks* is but one dayes iourney, but seauen by watei, which made me so willing to haue met them for some assay of this metall but when we came there we found no creature, onely we might see where had beene their fires

After our two dayes iourney, and our victuals spent, in the euening we heard some call as we thought *Manteo*, who was with me in the boat, this made vs glad, he made

them a friendly answer, which they answered with a song we thought for welcome, but he told vs they came to fight Presently they did let flie their Arrows about the boat, but did no hurt, the other boat scouling the shoie we landed but they all were fled, and how to finde them wee knew not

[1586]

So the next morning we retuined to the mouth of the riuver, that cost vs foure dayes rowing vp, and here our dogs pottage stood vs in good stead, for we had nothing els the next day we fasted being wind-bound, and could not passe the sound, but the day following we came to *Chippamum*, where the people were fled, but their w[e]lires afforded vs fish thus being neare spent, the next day God brought vs to *Roanoke*

The great
currant
of the river.
Moratoc

I conclude a good Mine, or the South sea will make this Countrey quickly inhabited, and so for pleasure and profit comparable with any in the world otherwise there will be nothing worth the fetching Provided there be found a better harbour then yet there is, which must be Northward if there be any Master *Vaughan* no lesse hoped of the goodnesse of the Mine, then Master *Heriot* that the riuer *Moratocks* head, either riseth by the Bay of *Mexico*, or very neare the South Sea, or some part that openeth neare the same, which cannot with that facilitie be done as from the Bay of *Peales*, by insconsing foure dayes iourney to the *Chawonoks*, *Mangoaks*, and *Moratocks*, &c.

*The conspiracy of Pemissapan; the Discouery
of it, and our returne for England
with Sir Francis Drake*

Pnsenore, a Saluage, fathei to *Pemissapan*, the best friend we had after the death of *Grangammeo*, when I was in those Discoueries, could not prevaile any thing with the King from destoying vs, that all this time God had preserued by his good counsell to the King to be friendly vnto vs *Pemissapan* thinking as the bru[i]te was, in this last iourney we were

[1586]

The Con-
spiracy of
Pemissapan

slaine and stauued, began to blasphem our God that would suffer it, and not defend vs, so that old *Ensenore* had no moie credit for vs for he began by all the deuises he could to inuade vs But in the beginning of this bru[i]te, when they saw vs all retuine, the iepoit false, [8] and had *Manteo*, and three Saluages more with vs, how little we esteemed all the people we met, and feared neither hunger, killing, or any thing, and had brought their greatest Kings sonne prisoner with vs to *Roanock*. it a little asswaged all his deuises, and brought *Ensenore* in respect againe, that our God was good, and wee their friends, and our foes should perish, for we could doe them more hurt being dead, then liuing, and that being ~~an~~ hundred myles from them, shot, and strucke them sickle to death, and that when we die it is but for a time then we retuine againe

But that which wroght the most feare among them was the handy-worke of Almighty God For certaine dayes after my ieturne, *Menatonon* sent messengers to me with Peaile, and *Okisco* King of *Weopomeoke*, to yeeld himselfe seruant to the Queene of *England*. *Okisco* with twenty-four of his principall men came to *Pemissapan* to acknowledge this dutie and subiection, and would performe it. All which so changed the heat of *Pemissapan*, that vpon the aduise of *Ensenore*, when we were ready to famish they came and made vs w[e]lues, and planted their fields they intended to abandon (we not hauing one coine till the next hauest to sustaine vs)

The death of
a most rare
Salvage

This being done our old friend *Ensenore* dyed the twenty of Aprill [1586], then all oure enemies wrought with *Pemissapan* to put in practise his deuises, which he easily imbiaced, though they had planted coine by vs, and at *Dasanonpeack* two leagues from vs Yet they got *Okisco* our tributary to get seuen or eight hundred (and the *Mandoagges* with the *Chisapeans* should doe the like) to meeete (as their custome is) to solemnize the Funerall of *Ensenore* Halfe of whom should lye hid, to cut off the stialleis, seeking crabs and prouision the rest come out of the mayne vpon the Signall by fire Twenty of the principall of *Pemissapans* men had charge in the night to beset my house, put fire in the Reeds that couered it,

which might cause me 1un out so naked and amazed, they might without dangei knocke out my biaines The same order for Master *Hervis*, and the rest for all should haue beeene fied at an instant In the meane time they should sell vs nothing, and in the night spoyle our w[e]ires, to make necessitie disperse vs Foi if we were but ten together, a hundred of them would not meddle with vs

[1586]

So our famine increased, I was foiced to send Capteine *Stafford* to *Croatan*, with twentie to feed himselfe, and see if he could espie any sayle passe the coast, Master *Predeox* with ten to *Hatarash* vpon the same occasion and other small parties to the Mayne to liue vpon 1ootes and Oysters

Pemissapan sequestring himselfe [that] I should not impertune him for victuall, and to draw his troupes, found not the *Chawonests* so forward as he expected, being a people more faithfull and powerfull, and desuied our friendships, and was offended with him for raising such tales, and all his projects were revealed to me by *Skico* my prisoner, who finding himselfe as well vsed by me as *Pemissapan*, tould me all

These troubles caused me send to *Pemissapan*, to put suspition in his head, I was to goe presently to *Croatan* to meeete a Fleet [that] came to me, though I knew no such matter and that he would lend me men to fish and hunt He sent me word he would come himselfe to *Roanock*, but delaying time eight dayes that all his men were there to be assembled, not liking so much company, I resolued the next day to goe [and] visit him, but first to giue them in the Ile a Canvisado, and at an instant to seaze on all their Canows about the Ile But the towne tooke the Alarum before I ment it Foi when I sent to take the Canows, he met one going from the shore, ouerthrew hei and cut off two Salvages heads, wherevpon the cry arose, being by their spyes perceiued for they kept as good watch over vs, as we of them Vpon this they to their Bowes, and we to our Armes thrie or foure of them at the first were slaine, the rest fled into the woods

The next morning I went to *Dassamonpeach*, and sent *Pemissapan* word I was going to *Croatan*, and tooke him in my way to complaine [that] *Osoco* would haue stole my prisoner *Skico*. Herevpon he did abide my comming, and being

A slaughter
of two
Salvages

[1586] among eight of the principallest, I gaue the watchword to my men, and immediately they had that they purposed [9] for vs. Himselfe being shot throught with a Pistoll fell downe as dead, but presently start vp and ran away from them all, till an Irish Boy shot him ouer the buttocks, where they tooke him and cut off his head

*Pennysapan
slaine and 8
others
[x June
1586]*

A most
generous
courtesie of
*Sir Francis
Drake*

Seauen dayes after Captaine *Stafferton* sent to me he descryed twentie-three Sayle. The next day came to me himselfe (of whom I must say this, from the first to the last, he neither spared labour, or perill by land or sea, fayre weather or foule, to perorme any serious seruice committed to him) He brought me a letter from *Sir Francis Drake*, whose geneious mind offred to supply all my defects, of shipping, boats, munition, victuall, clothes, and men to further this action and vpon good consultation an delibeeration, he appointed me a ship of 70 tuns, with an hundred men, and foure moneths victuals, two Pinnaces, foure small Boats, with two sufficient Masters, with sufficient Gangs All this being made ready for me, suddenly arose such a storme for foure dayes, that had like to haue druen the whole Fleete on shire many of them were forced to the Sea, wherof my ship so lately gauen me was one, with all my prouision and Company appoynted

Notwithstanding, the stoime ceasing, the Generall appointed me a ship of 170 tuns, with all prouisions as before, to carie me into *England* the next August, or when I had performed such Discoueries as I thought fit Yet they duist not vndertake to bring her into the harbour, but she must ride in the road, leauing the care of the rest to my selfe, advising me to consider with my Company what was fittest, and with my best speed returne him answer

Herepon calling my Company together, who were all as priuy of the Generals offer as my selfe, their whole request was, (in regard of all those formeir miseries, and no hope of the retuine of *Sir Richard Grenvill*,) and with a generall consent, they desired me to vrge him, we might all goe with him for *England* in his Fleete, for whose ielieve in that stoime he had sustained more perill of wrack, then in all his honorable actions against his enemies

*Virginia
abandoned
[x 8 June
1586]*

So with prayses to God we set sayle in Iune 1586. and
airiuied in *Portsmouth* the 27 of July the same yeare.
Leaving this remembrance to posteritie

[1586]

*To reason lend me thine attentiuue eares, Exempt thy selfe from
mind-distracting cares
Least that's here thus projected for thy good, By thee rejected
be, ere understood*

Written by Master *Ralph Layne*, Governour



*The Observations of Master Thomas Heriot
in this Voyage*

For Marchandize and Victualls.

WHAT before is writ, is also confirmed by that learned Mathematician Master *Thomas Heriot*, with them in the Countie, whose particular Relation of all the Beasts, Birds, Fishes, ^{Commodities} Foules, Fruites, and Rootes, and how they may be vsefull, because I haue writ it before for the most part in the Discourse[s] of Captaine *Amidas*, and Captaine *Layne*, except Silk grasse, Worme silke, Flax like Hempe, Allum, Wapeith or *Terra sigillata*, Tar, Rosen, and Turpentine, Civet-cats, Iron oie, Copper that held Silver, Coprose and Peaile Let those biefes suffice, because I would not trouble you with one thing twice.

Dyes

For Dyes, *Showmack*, the herbe *Wasebur*, little rootes called *Chapacor*, and the baike of a tree called by the Inhabitants *Tangomockonominge*, which are for divers soits of Reds

What more then is related is an herbe in Dutch called *Melden*, described like an Orange, growing foure foote high,

<sup>A strange
Salt</sup>

[1585-6] the seede will make good broth, and the [10] stalke burnt to ashes makes a kinde of Salt other Salt they know not, and we vsed of it for Pot-herbs Of their *Tobacco* we found plenty, which they esteeme their chiefe Physicke

R. 30. 4. Ground nuts, *Tiswaw* we call *China* roots, they grow in clusters, and bring forth a bryer stalke, but the leafe is far vnlike, which will climbe vp to the top of the highest tree: the vse knowne is to cut it in small peeces, then stampe and straine it with water, and boyled makes a gelly good to eate *Cassavia* growes in Maishes, which the Indians oft vse for bread and broth *Habascon* is like a Parsnip, naught of it selfe, except compounded and their Leekes like those in *England*

Fruits that's strange *Sequenummener*, a kinde of Berry like Capeis, and thise kinde of Beiries like Acornes, called *Sagatamenor*, *Osamenor*, and *Pummuckoner*

Beasts extra ordinary *Saquenuckot* and *Maquowoc*, two kinde of beasts, greater then Conies, and very good meate, in some places such plenty of gray Conies, like hayres, that all the people make them mantels of their skins I haue the names of 28 severall sorts that are dispersed in the Country of which 12 kindes we haue discouered and good to eate, but the Salvages sometimes kill a Lyon and eate him

Fish There is plentie of Stuigeon in February, March, Aprill, and May, all Herings in abundance, some such as ours, but the most part of 18 20 or 24 ynches long, and more. Troutes, Poipisses, Rayes, Mullets, Old-wives, Plaice, Tortoises both by Sea and Land Crabs, Oysters, Mussels, Scalops, Periwinkles, Crevises, Secanank we haue the Pictures of 12 sorts more, but their names we know not

Foules Turkyes, Stockdoues, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, Swans, Geese, Pairots, Faulcons, Merlinys I haue the names in their language of 86 severall sorts

Their woods are such as ours in *England* for the most part, except *Rakeock*, a great sweet tree, whereof they make their Canowes and *Ascopo*, a kinde of tree like Lowrell, and Saxebras

Their Natures and Manners

Their Clothing, Townes, Houses, Warres, Arts, Tooles, handy crafts, and educations, are much like them in that part of *Virginia* we now [1607-1624] inhabite which at

large you may reade in the Description ther eof [pp 44-84, [1585-6] 343-380] But the relation of their Religion is strange, as this Author reporteth

Some Religion they haue, which although it be farre from the truthe, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier reformed They beleue there are many gods which they call *Mantaoe*, but of differenter sorts and degrees Also that there is one chiefe God that hath beene from all eternitie, who as they say when he purposed first to make the wold, made first other gods of a principall orde, to be as instruments to be vsed in the Creation and government to follow And after the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, as peticke gods, and the instruments of the other order more principall First (they say) were made wateris, out of which by the gods were made all diversitie of creatures that are visible or invisible

For mankinde they say a Woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods conceiued and brought forth childrien, and so they had their beginning, but how many yeaeres or ages since they know not, having no Records but onely Tradition from Father to sonne

They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore represent them by Images in the formes of men, which they call *Kewasowok* one alone is called *Kewasa*, whom they place in their Temples, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many offerings The common sort think them also gods

They beleue the immortalitie of the Soule, when life departing from the body, according to the good or bad workes it hath done, it is carried vp to the Tabernacles of the gods, to perpetuall happynesse, or to *Popogusso*, a great pit which they thinke to be at the furest parts of the world, where the Sunne sets, and there buine continually

To confirme this they told me of two men that had beeene lately dead, and revived [11] againe, the one hapned but few yeaeres before our comming into the countrey, of a bad man, which being dead and buried, the next day the earth over him being seene to moue, was taken vp, who told them his soule was very neare entering into *Popogusso*, had not one of the gods sauied him and gaue him leaue to returne againe, to teach his fiends what

Their Religion

How the world was made

How man was made

How they use their gods

Whether they goe after death

Two men risen from death

[1585-6] they should doe to avoyd such torment The othei hapned the same yeare we were there, but sixtie myles from vs, which they told me for news, that one being dead, buiied, and taken vp as the fist, shewed, that although his body had layne dead in the graue, yet his soule liued, and had travailed far in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew more sweet, fayre, and delicate trees and fruits, then ever he had seene befoie, at length he came to most braue and fayre houses, neare which he met his Father, that was dead long agoe, who gaue him chaire to goe backe, to shew his fiends what good there was to doe, to injoy the pleasures of that place, which when hee had done hee should come againe

<sup>The subtletie
of their
Priests</sup> What subteltie so ever be in the *Weroances*, and *Priests*, this opinion worketh so much in the common soit, that they haue great respect to thei Governours and as great care to avoyde torment after death, and to enjoy blisse Yet they haue divers soits of punishments according to the offence, according to the greatnessse of the fact And this is the sum of then Religion, which I learned by having speciaall familiaritie with their Priests, wheiein they were not so sure grounded, noi gaue such credit, but through conveising with vs, they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours of which many desired to leaine moie then we had meanes for want of vtterance in their Language to expresse

<sup>Their
simplicitie</sup> Most things they saw with vs as Mathematicall Instruments, Sea-Compasses, the vertue of the Loadstone, Perspective Glasses, burning Glasses Clocks to goe of themselues, Bookes, writing, Guns, and such like, so fai exceeded their capacities, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then men, or at least the gods had taught vs how to make them, which loued vs so much bettei then them, and caused many of them [to] glue credit to what we spake concerning our God In all places where I came, I did my best to make his immortall glory knowne And I told them, although the Bible I shewed them, contained all, yet of it selfe, it was not of any such vertue as I thought they did conceiue. Notwithstanding many would be glad to touch it, to kisse, and imbrace it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke all their body ovei with it.

The King *Wingina* where we dwelt, would oft be with [1585-6] vs at *Piaye*. Twice he was exceeding sicke and like to dye. And doubting of any helpe from his Priests, thinking he was in such danger for offending vs and our God, sent for some of vs to pray, and be a meanes to our God, he might liue with him after death. And so did many other in the like case.

One other strange Accident (leauing others) will I mention before I end, which moued the whole Country that either knew or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no Towne where they had practised any villany against vs (we leaving it vnpunished, because we sought by all possible meanes to winne them by gentlenes) but within a few dayes after our deceipture, they began to dye, in some Townes twenty, in some forty, in some sixty, and in one an hundred and twenty, which was very many in respect of their numbers. And this hapned in no place (we could learn) where we had bin, but where they had vsed some practise to betay vs. And this disease was so strange, they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it, nor had they knowne the like time out of minde, a thing specially obserued by vs, as also by themselues, in so much that some of them who were our friends, especially *Wingina*, had obserued such effects in foure or fife Townes, that they were perswaded it was the worke of God through our meanes and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would, without weapons, and not come [12] neare them. And therupon, when they had any vnderstanding, that any of their enemies abused vs in our Iourneyes, they would intreat vs, we would be a meanes to our God, that they, as the others that had dealt ill with vs, might dye in like sort although we shewed them their requests were vngodly, and that our GOD would not subiect himselfe to any such requests of men, but all things as he pleased came to passe and that we to shew our selues his true servants, ought rather to pray for the contrary yet because the effect fell out so suddenly after, according to their desires, they thought it came to passe by our meanes, and would come gue vs thankes in their manner, that though we satisfied them not in words, yet in deeds we had fulfilled their desires.

Their deare
of salvation

A
wonderfull
Accident

[1585-6] This marueilous Accident in all the Countiy wrought so
Their
strange
opinions strange opinions of vs, that they could not tell whether to
 thinke vs gods or men And the rathei that all the space
 of theu sicknesse, there was no man of ouis knowne to die,
 or much sicke They noted also we had no women, noi
 cared for any of theu some therfore thought we were
 not boine of women, and therefore not mortall, but that
 we were men of an old generation many yeaires past, and
 risen againe from immortalitie Some would prophesie
 there were moie of our generation yet to come, to kill
 theu and take theu places Those that were to come
 after vs they imagined to be in the ayre, yet invisible and
 without bodies and that they by our intreaties, for loue of
 vs, did make the people die as they did, by shooting
 invisible bullets into them

To confirme this, theu Physicians to excuse their Ignor-
 ance in curing the disease, would make the simple people
 beleue, that the stings of bloud they sucked out of the
 sick bodies, were the strings wherein the invisible bullets
 were tyed, and cast Some thought we shot them our
 selues from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people
 that had offended vs, as we listed, how faire distant soever
 And otheis said it was the speciall worke of God for our
 sakes, as we had cause in some soit to thinke no lesse,
 whatsoever some doe, or may imagine to the contraiy,
 especially some Astrologers by the eclipse of the Sunne we
 saw that yeare [1584] befoie oui Voyage, and by a Comet
 which began to appeare but a few dayes befoie the sick-
 nesse began but to exclude them from being the speciaill
 causes of so speciall an Accident, there are farther reasons
 then I thinke fit to present or alledge

These theu opinions I haue set downe, that you may
 see there is hope to imbrace the truth, and honor, obey,
 feare and loue vs, by good dealing and governement though
 some of our company towards the latter end, befoie we
 came away with Sir Francis Drake shewed themselues too
 furious, in slaying some of the people in some Townes,
 vpon causes that on our part might haue bin boine with
 more mildnesse, notwithstanding they iustly had deserued
 it The best nevethlesse in this, as in all actions besides,
 is to be indevouied and hoped, and of the woist that may

happen, notice to be taken with consideration, and as [1585-6] much as may be eschewed, the better to allue them here-
aftei to Civilitie and Christianitie

Thus you may see, How

Nature her selfe delights her selfe in sundry Instruments, *Palling*
That sundry things be done to decke the earth with Ornaments,
Nor suffers she her servants all should runne one race,
But wills the walke of every one frame in a divers pace,
That divers wayes and divers workes, the world might better grace

Written by *Thomas Heriot*, one of the Voyage.



*How Sir Richard Grenvill went to relueue
them*

JN the yeare of our Lord 1586 Sir Walter Raleigh 1586
 and his Associates prepared a ship of a hundred
 tun, fraughted plentifully of all things neces-
 sary but before [13] they set sayle from
England it was *Easter [3 April]* And arriving at *Hatorask*,
 they aftei some time spent in seeking the *Collony* vp in the
 Countiy, and not finding them, returned with all the
 provision againe to *England*

About 14 or 15 dayes after, Sir Richard Grenvill accompanied with three ships well appoynted, arrived there Who not finding the aforesaid ship accoiding to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of the *Collony* therre seated, and left by him as is said 1585 travailing vp and downe to seeke them, but when he could heare no newes of them, and found their habitation abandoned, vnwilling to lose the possession of the Country, after good delibera-
 tion he landed fiftie men in the Ile of *Roanoak*, plentifully furnished with all manner of provision for two yeares and so retuined for *England*

Sir Richard
Grenvill left
fiftie men

[1586-7] Where many began strangely to discant of those crosse
beginnings, and him, which caused me remembēr an old
saying of Euripides

*Who broacheth ought tharts new, to fooles vntaught,
Himselfe shall iudged be vnwise, and good for naught.*



*Three Ships more sent to relieue them by
Master White.*

Master
White has
Voyages
1587

WE went the old course by the west Indies, and Simon Ferdinando our continuall Pilot mistaking Virginia for Cape Fear, we fayled not much to haue beene cast away, vpon the conceit of ouer all-knowing Ferdinando, had it not beeene prevented by the vigilancy of Captaine Stafford. We came to Hatorask the 22 of July [1587], and with fortie of our best men, intending at Roanoack to find the 50 men left by Sir Richard Grenvill. But we found nothing but the bones of a man, and where the Plantation had beeene, the houses vnhurt, but overgrowne with weeds, and the Fort defaced, which much perplexed vs.

By the History it seemes Simon Ferdinando did what he could to bring this voyage to confusion, but yet they all arrived at Hatorask. They repayed the old houses at Roano[*u*]ck, and Master George How, one of the Councell, stiaglirg ablood, was slaine by the Salvages. Not long after Master Stafford with 20 men went to Croatan with Manteo, whose friends dwelled there of whom we thought to haue some newes of our 50 men. They at first made shew to fight, but when they heard Manteo, they threw away their Armes, and were friends, and desired there might be a token gauen to be knowne by, least we might hurt them by mispission, as the yeare before one had bin by Master Layne, that was euer their friend, and there present yet lame.

One of the
Councell
slaine

[1587]

The next day we had confeience with them conceining the people of *Secotan*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Pomerok*, willing them of *Croatan* to see if they would accept our friendship, and renew our old acquaintance which they willingly imbraced, and promised to bring their King and Governouris to *Roanoak*, to confirme it. We also vnderstood that Master *Howe* was slaine by the men of *Wingina*, of *Dassamonpeach* and by them of *Roanoack*, that the fiftie men left by Sir *Richard Grenvill*, were suddenly set vpon by three hundred of *Secotan*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Dassamonpeach*. First they intiuded themselves among ii of them by friendship, one they slew, the rest retayning to their houses, they set them on fire, that our men with what came next to hand were foiced to make their passage among them; where one of them was shot in the mouth, and presently dyed, and a Salvage slaine by him. On both sides moie were hurt, but our men retayning to the water side, got their boat, and ere they had rowed a quarter of a myle towards *Hatorask*, they tooke vp foure of their fellowes, gathering Ciabs and Oysters at last they landed on a little Ile by *Hatorask*, where they remained a while, but after depaited they [14] knew not whether. So taking our leaues of the *Croatans*, we came to our Fleet at *Hatorask*.

The Governour having long expected the King and Governouris of *Pomerok*, *Secotan*, *Aquascogoc*, and *Dassamonpeach*, and the 7 dayes expired, and no newes of them; being also informed by those of *Croatan*, that they of *Dassamonpeach* slew Master *Howe*, and were at the driving [of] our men from *Roanoack* he thought no longer to defeire the revenge. Wherefoe about midnight, with Captaine *Stafford*, and twentie-four men, whereof *Manteo* was one, for our guide, (that behaved himself towards vs as a most faithfull English man) he set forward.

The next day by bieake of day we landed, and got beyond their houses, where seeing them sit by the fire we assaulted them. The miserieable soules amazed fled into the Reeds, where one was shot through, and we thought to haue beene fully revenged, but we were deceiued, for they were our friends come from *Croatan* to gather their corne, because they vnderstood our enemies were fled after the death of Master *Howe*, and left all behinde them for

How the
fiftie men
were slaine

An ill
misprision

[1587]

the birds But they had like to haue payd too deare for it, had we not chanced vpon a *Weroances* wife, with a childe at her backe, and a Salvage that knew Captaine *Stafford*, that ran to him calling him by his name Being thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered the fruit we found ripe, left the rest vnspoyled, and tooke *Menatonon* his wife with her childe, and the rest with vs to *Roanoak* Though this mistake gueued *Manteo*, yet he imputed it to their own folly, because they had not kept promise to come to the governor at the day appointed

The 13 of August ouer Salvage *Manteo* was Christened, and called Lord of *Dassamonpeack*, in reward of his faithfulness And the 18th, *Ellinor* the Gouverneur's daughter, and wife to *Ananias Dare*, was delivered of a daughter in *Roanoak*, which being the first Christian there borne, was called *Virginia*

Ouer ships being ready to depart, such a storme arose, as the Admirall was forced to cut her Cables and it was six dayes ere she could recover the shoie, that made vs doubt she had beeene lost, because the most of her best men were on shore

At this time Controversies did grow betwixt our Goverour and the Assistants, about choosing one of them 12 to goe as Factor for them all to *England*, for all refused save one, whom all men thought most insufficient the Conclusion was by a generall consent, they would haue the Goverour goe himselfe, for that they thought none would so truly procure the[i]le supplyes as he. Which though he did what he could to excuse it, yet their importunitie would not cease till he vnderooke it, and had it vnder all their hands how vnwilling he was, but that necessity and reason did doubly constaine him

At their setting sayle for *England*, waighting Anchor, twelue of the men in the flyboat were throwne from the Capstern, by the breaking of a baile, and most of them so hauit, that some never recovered it The second time they had the like fortune, being but 15 they cut the Cable and kept company with their Admirall to *Flowres* and *Coruos*, the Admirall stayed there looking for purchase but the flyboats men grew so weake they were driven to *Smerwick* in the West of *Ireland* The Goverour went for *England*, and *Simon Ferdinando* with much adoe at last arrived at *Portsmouth* 1587

A child
borne in
*Virginia*A contio
verse who
to send for
Factor to
England

The Names of those [who] were landed
in this Plantation were,

*John White Goverour
Roger Bayley
Ananias Darc
Simon Ferdinando
Christopher Couper
Thomas Stevens*

*John Samson
Thomas Smith
Dromis Hauie
Roger Pi at
George How
Antony Cage*

With divers otheis to the number of about 115. [15]



*The fift Voyage to Virginia; undertaken by
Master Iohn VVhite 1589.*

THe 20 of March three ships went from *Plimouth*,
and passed betwixt *Barbary* and *Mogadoro* to
Dominico in the West Indies After we had
done some exployts in those parts, the third of
August [1587] wee fell with the low sandy Iles westward
of *Wokon*. But by reason of ill weather it was the 11,
ere we could Anchore there, and on the 12 we came to
Croatan, where is a great breach in 35 degiees and a halfe,
in the Northeast poynt of the Ile The 15 we came to
Hatorask in 36 degrees and a terse, at 4 fadom, 3 leagues
fiom shorie where we might perceiue a smoake at the
place where I left the Colony, 1587

1589
Master
White his
returne to
Virginia

The next morning Captaine *Cooke*, Captaine *Spicer*, and
their companies, with two boats left our ships, and [we]
dischaiged some Oidnance to giue them notice of our
comming, but when we came there, we found no man, noi
signe of any that had beene therie lately and so retuined
to our Boats

The next moining we prepared againe for *Roanoack*

[1589]

Captaine *Spicer* had then sent his Boat ashore for water, so it was ten of the Clocke ere we put from the ships, which rode two myles from the shoen. The Admirals boat, being a myle before the other, as she passed the bar, a sea broke into the boat and filled her halfe full of water but by Gods good will, and the carefull steaiage of Captaine *Cook*, though our piovisions were much wet we safe escaped, the wind blew hard at Notheast, which caused so great a cuient and a breach vpon the baire, Captaine *Spicer* passed halfe over, but by the indiscreet steering of *Ralph Skinner*, their boat was overset, the men that could catch hold hung about her, the next sea cast her on ground, where some let goe their hold to wade to shore, but the sea beat them downe. The boat thus tossed vp and downe Captaine *Spicer* and *Skinner* hung there till they were diowne, but 4 that could swim a little, kept themselues in deepe water, were saued by the meanes of Captaine *Cook*, that presently vpon the ovesetting of their boat, shipped himselfe to saue what he could. Thus of eleuen, seuen of the chiefest were drowned.

Captaine
Spicer and
seauen
others
drowned

This so discomfited all the Sayleis, we had much to do to get them any more to seeke further for the Planters, but by their Captaines forwardnes at last they fitted themselves againe for *Hatorash* in 2 boats, with 19 persons. It was late ere we arrived, but seeing a fire throught the woods, we sounded a Tiumpet, but no answer could we heare. The next morning we went to it, but could see nothing but the grasse, and some rotten trees burning. We went vp and downe the Ile, and at last found three faire Romane Letters carved *C R O* which presently we knew to signifie the place wher I should find them, according to a secret note betweene them and me which was to write the name of the place they would be in, vpon some tree, dole, or post and if they had beeene in any distresse, to signifie it by making a crosse over it. For at my departure they intended to goe fiftie myles into the mayne. But we found no signe of distresse, then we went to a place wher they were left in sundry houses, but we found them all taken downe, and the place strongly inclosed with a high Palizado, very Fortlike, and in one of the chiefe Posts caued in fayre capitall Letters *C R O A T A N*,

without any signe of distresse, and many barres of Iron, two pigs of Lead, fouie Fowlers, Iion shot, and such like heauie things thiowne heire and there, overgrowne with grasse and weeds We went by the shore to seeke for their boats but could find none, nor any of the Ordnance I left them At last some of the Sailers found divers Chists had beene hidden and digged vp againe, and much of the goods spoyled, and scattered vp and downe, which when I saw, I knew three of them to be my owne, but bookes, pictures, and all things els were spoyled Though it much grieued me, yet it did much comfort me that I did know they were at *Croatan*, so we returned to our Ships, but had like to haue bin cast away by a great storme that continued all that night [16]

They finde
where they
had buried
their
provisions

The next morning we weighed Anchor for *Croatan*: having the Anchoi a-pike, the Cable biske, by the meanes whereof we lost another letting fall the third, the ship yet went so fast a dift, we sayled not much theire to haue split But God bringing vs into deepe water, consideringe we had but one Anchor, and our piovision neare spent, we resolued to goe foirthwith to S *Johns Ile, Hispaniola*, or *Trinidad*, to reflesh our selues and seeke for purchase that Winte, and the next Sping come againe to seeke our Countiy-men But our Vice Admirall would not, but went directly for *England*, and we our course for *Trinidad*.

But within two dayes after, the wind changing, we were constrained for the Westerne Iles to refresh our selues, where we met with many of the Queenes ships, our owne consoit, and divers others, the 23 of September 1590.

And thus we left seeking our Colony, that was neuuer any of them found, nor seene to this day 1622 [This fixes the date of the compilation by Smith of this part of the General History &c] And this was the conclusion of this Plantation, after so much time, labour, and chage consumed Wheeby we see,

The end
of this
Plantation

*Not all at once, nor all alike, nor ever hath it beene,
That God doth offer and confer his blessings vpon men*

Written by Master *John White*.



1602 A briefe Relation of the Description of
Elizabeths Ile, and some others towards the
 North part of *Virginia*, and what els they
 discovered in the yeare 1602 by Captaine
 Bartholomew Gosnoll, and Captaine
 Bartholomew Gilbert, and divers
 other Gentlemen their Associates

[1602]
 12 years it
 lay dead



LL hopes of *Virginia* thus abandoned, it
 lay dead and obscured from 1590 till this
 yeare 1602 that Captaine *Gosnoll*, with
 32 and himselfe in a small Barke, set
 sayle from *Dartmouth* vpon the 26. of
 Maich Though the wind favoured vs
 not at the first, but forced vs as fai
 Southward as the *Asores*, which was
 not much out of our way, we ran directly west from
 thence, whereby we made our iourney shorter then heretofoire
 by 500 leagues the weaknesse of oure ship, the
 badnes of our saylers, and oure ignorance of the coast,
 caused vs carie but a low sayle, that made our passage
 longer then we expected

On fryday the 11 of May [1602] we madeland, it was some-
 what low, where appeaied certaine hummocks or hills in
 it the shorē white sand, but very rockie, yet overgrowne
 with fayre trees Comming to an Anchor, 8 *Indians* in a
 Baske shallop, with mast and sayle came boldly aboord
 vs It seemed by their signes and such things as they
 had, some *Biskineis* had fished there being about the
 latitude of 43. But the haibour being naught, and

doubting the weather, we went not ashore, but waighed, [1602] and stood to the Southward into the Sea

The next morning we found our selues imbayed with a mightie headland within a league of the shoie we anchored, and Captaine *Gosnoll*, my selfe, and three otheris went to it in our boat, being a white sand and a bold coast Though the weather was hot, we marched to the highest hils we could see, where we perceiued this headland [to be] part of the mayn, neare invironed with Ilands As we were returing to our ship, a good prope, lusty young man came to vs, with whom we had but small conference, and so we left him Here in 5 or 6. houies we tooke more Cod then we knew what to doe with, which made vs peiswade our selues, there might be found a good fishing in Maich, Aprill, and May [17]

Their first landing

At length we came among these fayre Iles, some a league, 2 3 5 or 6 from the Mayne, by one of them we anchored We found it fouie myles in compasse, without house or inhabitant In it is a lake neare a myle in circuit, the rest overgrowne with trees, which so well as the bushes, were so overgrowne with Vines, we could scarce passe them And by the blossomes we might perceiue there would be plenty of Strawberries, Respises, Gousberries, and divers other fruits besides, Deerie and other Beasts we saw, and Cianes, Heines, with divers other sorts of fowle, which made vs call it *Martha's Vineyard*

Martha's Vineyard

The iest of the Isles are replenished with such like; very rocky, and much tinctured stone like Minerall Though we met many *Indians*, yet we could not see their habitations they gaue vs fish, Tobacco, and such things as they had

But the next Isle we arrived at was but two leagues from the Maine, and 16 myle about, invironed so with creekes and coves, it seemed like many Isles linked together by small passages like bridges In it is many places of plaine grasse, and such other fruits, and berries as before were mentioned In mid-May we did sow Wheat, Bailey, Oates, and Pease, which in 14 dayes sprung vp 9 inches The soyle is fat and lusty the ciust theof gray, a foot or lesse in depth It is full of high timbred Okes, their leaues thrise so broad as ours

Elizabeths Island

[1602]

Cedar straight and tall, Beech, Holly, Walnut, Hazell, Cherry trees like ours, but the stalke beareth the blossom or fruit thereof like a cluster of Grapes, forty or fiftie in a bunch There is a tree of Orange colour, whose barks in the filing is as smooth as Velvet There is a lake of flesh water three myles in compasse, [having] in the midst an Isle containing an acre or thereabout, overgrowne with wood here are many Tortoises, and abundance of all sorts of foules, whose young ones we tooke and eate at our pleasure Grounds nuts as big as egges, as good as Potatoes, and 40 on a string, not two ynches vnder ground All sorts of shell-fish, as Schalops, Mussels, Cockles, Crabs, Lobsteirs, Welks, Oysteirs, exceeding good and very great, but not to cloy you with particulars, what God and nature hath bestowed on those places, I refer you to the Authors owne writing at large

We called this Isle *Elizabeths* Isle, from whence we went right over to the mayne, where we stood a while as ravished at the beautie and delicacy of the sweetnesse, besides divers cleare lakes, whereof we saw no end, and meadows very large and full of greeene grasse, &c

Here we espyed 7 Salvages, at fist they expiessed some feare, but by our courteous vsage of them, they followed vs to the necke of Land, which we thought had beene severed from the Mayne, but we found it otherwise Here we imagined was a rivei, but because the day was farre spent, we left to discover it till better leisure But of good Harbours, there is no doubt, considering the Land is all rooky and broken lands

The next day we determined to fortifie our selues in the Isle in the lake. Three weekes we spent in building vs there a house. But the second day after our comming from the Mayne, 11 Canows with neare 50 Salvages came towards vs Being vnwilling they should see our building, we went to [them], and exchanged with them Kniues, Hatchets, Beades, Bels, and such trifles, for some Bevers, Lizards, Martins, Foxes, wilde Catte skinnes, and such like We saw them haue much red Copper, whereof they make chaines, collars, and drinking cups, which they so little esteemed they would glue vs for small toyes, and signified vnto vs they had it out of the earth in the Mayne

[1602]

Three dayes they stayed with vs, but evey night retyied two or three myle from vs after with many signes of loue and friendship they departed, seaven of them staying behind, that did helpe vs to dig and cairy Saxafias, and doe any thing they could, being of a comely proportion and the best condition of any Salvages we had yet incountered. They haue no Beards but countefets, as they did thinke ouis also was for which they would haue changed with some of our men that had great beards. Some of the basei sort wold steale, but the better soit, we found very civil and iust. We saw but three of their women, and they were but of meane statuie, attyred in skins like the men, [18] but fat and well favoured.

The wholesomenesse and temperatiure of this climate, doth not onely aiguge the people to be answerable to this Description, but also of a perfect constitution of body, actiue, strong, healthfull, and very witty, as the sundry toyes by them so cunningly wrought may well testifie. For our selues, we found ouir selues rather increase in health and stienght then otherwise for all our toyle, bad dyet and lodging, yet not one of vs was touched with any sicknesse.

Twelue intended here a while to haue stayed, but vpon better consideration, how meanely we were provided, we left this Island (with as many true sorrowfull eyes as were before desirous to see it) the 18 of Iune, and arrived at Exmouth, the 23 of Iuly [1602].

*But yet mans minde doth such it selfe explay,
As Gods great Will doth frame it every way
And, Such thoughts men haue, on earth that doe but liue,
As men may craue, but God doth onely giue*

Written by John Brierton one of the Voyage



- 1603 *A Voyage of Captaine Martin Pring, with two
Barks from Bristow, for the North part
of Virginia 1603*

[1603]



Y the inducements and perswasions of Master *Richard Hacklute*, Master *John Whitson* being Maior, with his biethren the Aldermen, and most of the Merchants of the Cite of *Bristow*, raised a stocke of 1000l to furnish out two Barkes, the one of 50. tuns, with 30 men and boyes, the other 26 tuns, with 13 men and boyes, having *Martin Pring* an vnderstanding Gentleman, and a sufficient Maner for Captaine, and *Robert Salterne* his Assistant, who had bin with Captaine *Gosnoll* there the yeare before for Pilot.

Though they were much ciossed by contray windes vpon the coast of *England*, and the death of that ever most memorable miracle of the world, our most deare soveraigne Lady and Queene *Elizabeth*, yet at last they passed by the westerne Isles, and about the 7 of June [1603], fell vpon the north pait of *Virginia*, about the degrees of foytie thiee. Wheie they found plentie of most sorts of fish, and saw a high country full of great woods of sundry sorts. As they ranged the coast at a place they named *Whitson Bay*, they weie kindly vsed by the Natiues, that came to them, in troupes, of tens, twenties, and thirties, and sometimes moie.

But because in this Voyage for most part they followed the course of Captaine *Gosnoll*, and haue made no relation but to the same effect he writ before, we will thus conclude,

*Lay hands unto this worke with all thy wit,
But pray that God would speed and perfite it*

Robert Salterne.

*A relation of a Discovery towards the Northward 1605
of Virginia, by Captaigne George Waymouth 1605
imployed therer by the right Honorable Thomas
Arundell, Baron of Warder, in the Raigne of
our most royll King I A M E S.*

Wpon tuesday the fist of March we set sayle from [1605]
Ratcliffe, but by contray winds we were forced
into Dartmouth till the last of this moneth,
then with 29 as good sea men, and all neces-
sary provisions as could possibly be gotten, we put [19]
to sea, and the 24 of Aprill fell with Flowres and Coruos

We intended as we were directed towards the South-
waide of 39 But the winds so crossed vs wee fell moie
Noithwards about 41 and 20 minuits, we sounded at
100 fathom, and by that we had run 6 leagues we had
but 5 yet saw no land, from the mayne top we desciyed
a whitish sandy clift, West Noith-west some 6 leagues
from vs, but ere we had run two leagues further we found
many shoules and breaches, sometimes in 4 fadom and
the next throw 15. or 18 Being thus imbayed among
those shoules, we were constrained to put back againe,
which we did with no small danger, though both the
winde and weathē weie as fayre as we could desie

Thus we parted from the Land, which we had not before
so much desired, and at the fist sight rejoyced, as now
we all ioyfully praysed God that he had delivered vs from
so eminent danger Here we found excellent Cod, and
saw many Whales as we had done 2 or 3 daies before

Dangerous
shoules

Cod and
Whales

Being thus constrained to put to sea, the want of wood
and water caused vs to take the best advantage of the
winde, to fall with the shore wheresoeuer but we found
ouē Sea-caids most directly false The 17 of May we
made the Land againe, but it blew so haid, we duist not
approach it The next day [18 May 1605] it appeared to
vs a mayne high land, but we found it an Island of 6 myles
in compasse within a league of it we came to an anchor,
and went on shoie for wood and water, of which we found

[1605]
Their first
landing

sufficient The water gushing foith downe the iocky clifts in many places, which are all ovegrown with Fiire, Birch, Beech, and Oke, as the Veige is with Gousbeines, Stiawbeires, wild Pease, and Rose bushes, and much foule of divers sorts that bieed among the rockes heie as in all places els where we came, we found Cod enough

From hence we might discerne the mayne land and very high mountaines, the next day because we rode too open to the Sea, we waighed, and came to the Isles adioyning to the mayn among which we found an excellent rode, defended from all windes, for ships of any burthen, in 6 7 8 9 or 10 fadom vpon acly oze This was vpon a Whitsonday [19 May 1605], wherefoie we called it *Pentecost Harbour*

Pentecost
harbour

The
Captains
diligence

Heire I cannot omit for foolish feare of imputation of flattery, the painfull industry of our Captaine, who as at Sea he was alwayes most carefull and vigilant, so at land he refused no paines but his labour was ever as much or rather more then any mans, which not onely incouaged others with better content, but also effected much with great expedition We digged a Garden the 22 of May, wherie among our garden-seeds we sowed Pease and Bailey, which in 16 dayes grew vp 8 ynches, although this was but the crust of the ground, and much inferiour to the mould we after found in the mayne

After we had taken order for all our necessary businesses, we marched throught two of these Isles The biggest was 4 or 5 myles in compasse, we found here all sorts of ordinary trees, besides, Vines, Currants, Spruce, Yew, Angelica, and divers gummes in so much many of our company wished themselves settled heire

Vpon the 30 our Captaine with 13 went to discover the mayne we in the shipespyed 3 Canowes that came towards the ship Which after they had well viewed, one of them came aboord with 3 men, and by our good vsage of them not long after the rest, two dayes we had their companies, in all respects they are but like them at *Elizabeths Isles*, therefore this may suffice for their description In this time our Captain had discovered a fayle river, tiending into the mayne 40 myles, and returned backe to bring in the ship

The Salvages also kept their woids and brought vs 40 Bever, Otter, and sable skins, for the value of 5 shillings in

knives, glasses, combes, and such toyes, and thus we vsed them so kindly as we could, because we intended to inhabit in them Countiy they lying abooid with vs and we ashore with them, but it was but as changing man for man as hostages, and in this manner many times we had their companies

[1605]
Trade
with the
Salvages

At last they desired our Captaine to goe with them to the mayne to trade with their *Bashabes*, which is thei chiefe Lord, which we did, ouer boat well manned with [20] 14 yet would they row faster with 3 Ores in thei Canowes then we with 8 but when we saw ouer old acquaintance would not stay abooid vs as before for hostage, but did what they could to draw vs into a nariow crike [creek], we exchanged one *Owen Griffon* with them for a yong fellow of theirs, that he might see if he could discouer any tiechery as he did, for he found there assembled 283 Salvages with bowes and arrows, but not any thing at all to trade as they pretended

Their
tiechery

These things considered, we conceited them to be but as all Salvages ever had beeene, kinde till they found opportunitie to do mischiefe Wherefore we determined to take some of them, before they should suspect we had discovered their plot, lest they should absent themselves from vs so the first that ever after came into the ship were three which we kept, and two we tooke on shore with much adoe, with two Canowes, their bowes and arrowes.

Five
Salvages
surprised

Some time we spent in sounding all the Isles, channels, and inlets therabouts, and we found 4 severall waies a ship might be brought into this Bay

In the interim ther came 2 Canowes more boldly abooid vs, signifying we should bring our ship to the place where he dwelt to trade We excused ouer selues why we could not, but used them kindly, yet got them away with all the speed we could that they should not be perceiued by them in the houle [*hold*], then we went vp the river 26 myles of which I had rather not write, then by my relation detract from it, it is in breadth a myle, neare 40 myles, and a channell of 6 7 8 9 or 10 fadom, and on both sides every halfe myle gallant Coues, to containe in many of them 100 sayle, where they may lye on Oze without Cable or Anchore, onely moored with a Hansei, and it floweth 18. foot, that you may make, docke, or carrie ships with much

A descrip
tion of the
river

[1605] facilitie · besides the land is most rich, trending all along on both sides in an equall plaine, neither rocky nor mountainous, but verged with a greene borde of grasse, doth make tender to the beholder her pleasant fertilitie, if by cleansing away the woods she were converted into meadow. The woods are great, and tall, such as are spoken of in the Islands, and well watered with many fresh springs. Our men that had seene *Oranoque* so famous in the woldes eares, *Reogrande*, *Loyer*, and *Shion*, report, though they be great and goodly iileis, yet are not comparable to it.

Leaving our ship we went higher, till we were 7 myles higher than the salt water flowed, we marched towards the mountains we had seene, but the weather was so hot, and our labour so great, as our Captaine was contented to retuine. after we had erected a crosse we left this faire land and river, in which the higher we went the better we liked it, and returned to our ship.

By the way we met a Canow that much desired one of our men to go vp to their *Basshabes*, but we knew their intents, and so turned them off, and though we had both time and provision to haue discovered much more, and might haue found peraduenturie good trade, yet because our company was but small, we would not hazzard so hopefull a businesse as this was, either for our private, or particular ends, being more regardfull of a publicke good, and promulgating Gods holy Church by planting Christianity, which was the intent of our adventurers so well as ours.

Returning by the Isles in the entry of the Sound we called them St Georges Isles, and because on sunday we set out of England, on sunday also the 16 of Iune we departed hence. When we had run 30 leagues we had 40 fadom, then 70. then 100. After 2 or 3 watches more we were in 24 fadoms, where we tooke so much Cod as we did know what to doe with, and the 18 of July [1605] came to Dartmouth, and all our men as well God be thanked as when they went forth. Thus may you see,

*God hath not all his gifts bestowed on all or any one,
Words sweetest, and wits sharpest, courage, strength of bone,
All rarities of minde and parts doe all concurre in none*

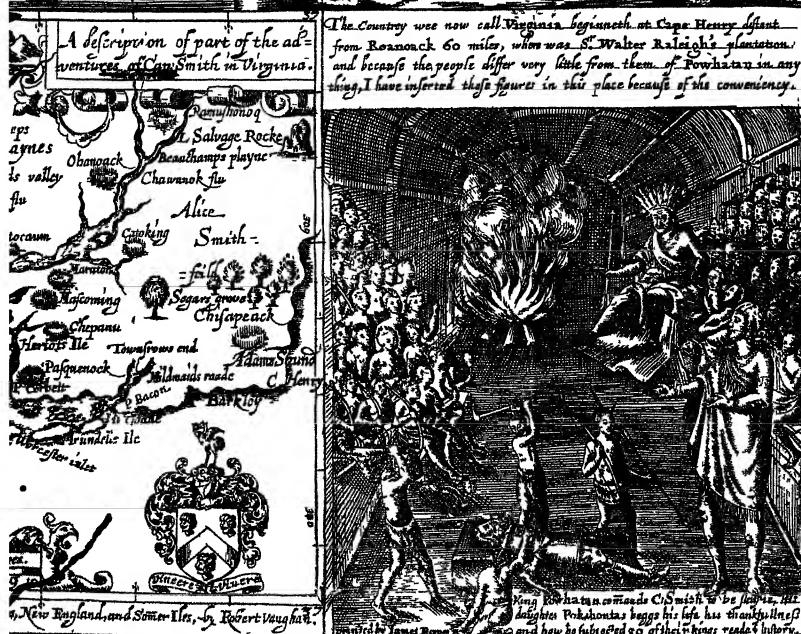
Written by James Rosier, one of the Voyage. [21]

[*The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, & the Summer Isles*

THE SECOND BOOK

1624

*A reprint, with variations, of the First
Part of The Map of Virginia,
1612.]*





 The second Booke.

THE SIX~~T~~ VOYAGE. 1606. 1606

To another part of *Virginia*, where now are

Planted our *English Colonies*, Whom God increase
and preserue Discovered and Described by
Captain JOHN SMITH, sometimes
Governour of the Countrey

BY these former relations you may see [1606-7] what inconveniences still crosseſ those good intents, and how great a matteſ it was all this time to finde but a Harbouri, although there be ſo many. But this *Virginia* is a Countrey in *America* [§ 47] betweene the degrees of 34 and 45. of the North latitude. The bounds therie-
of on the East ſide are the great *Ocean* on the South
lyeth *Florida* on the North *nova Francia* as for the
West theiof, the limits are vnuſknowne. Of all this
Countrey we purpoſe not to ſpeakē, but onely of that paſt
which was planted by the *English men* in the yeare of
our Lord, 1606[-7]. *And this is under the degrees 37 38 and*
39. The tempeſtatiue of this Country doth agree well
with *English* conſtitutions, being once ſeasoned to the
Countrey. Which appeared by this, that though by many
occasions our people fell ſicke, yet did they recoveř by
very ſmall meaneſ, and continued in health, though there
were other great cauſes, not onely to haue made them
ſicke, but even to end their dayes, &c

The
latitude

[1607-9] ^{the temperature} The Sommei is hot as in *Spaine*, the Wintei cold as in *France* or *England*. The heat of sommei is in Iune, July, and August, but commonly the coole Bieeses asswage the vehemency of the heat. The chiefe of winter is halfe Decembre, January, Februaiy, and halfe March. The colde is extreame shaire, but heire the Proveibe is tue, that no extreame long continueth.

[4 43] In the yeare 1607[-8] was an extiaordinay frost in most of *Europe*, and this frost was found as extreame in *Virginia*. But the next yeare fo1 8¹ to dayes of ill weathei, other 14 dayes would be as sommei.

^{The windes} The windes heire are variable, but the like thunder and lightning to purifie the ayre, I have seldome either seene or heard in *Europe*. From the Southwest came the greatest gusts with thunders and heat. The Northwest winde is commonly coole and bringeth faire weather with it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the East and Southeast as from the *Barmudas*, fogs and raines.

Some times there are great droughts, other times much raine, yet great necessitie of neither, by reason we see not but that all the rauitie of needfull fruits in *Europe*, may be there in great plentie, by the industry of men as appeareth by those we there Planted.

^{The entrances} There is but one entiance by Sea into this Country, and that is at the mouth of a very goodly Bay, 18 or 20 myles broad. The cape on the South is called *Cape Henry*, in honoui of our most noble Prince. The land white hilly sands like vnto the Downes, and all along the shoies great plentie of Pires and Funes.

^{Cape Charles} The noith *Cape* is calied *Cape Charles*, in honoui of the worthy Duke of *Yorke*. The Isles before it, *Smith's Isles*, by the name of the discovei[er].

^{The Country} Within is a country that [22] may haue the priogatiue over the most pleasant places knowne, for large and pleasant navigable Riveis, heaven and earth never agieed better to faine a place for mans habitation, were it fully manuied and inhabited by industrious people. Here are mountaines, hils, plaines, valleyes, riveis, and brookes, all running most pleasantly into a faue Bay, compassed but for the mouth, with fruitfull and delightsome land. In the Bay and rivers are many Isles both greate and small, some woody, some

plaine, most of them low and not inhabited This Bay [1607-9] lyeth North and South, in which the wate^r floweth neare 200 myles, and hath a channell for 140 myles, of depth betwixt 6 and 15 fadome, holding in breadth for the most part 10 or 14 myles From the head of the Bay to the Northwest, the land is mounta[i]nous, and so in a maner from thence by a Southwest line, So that the more Southward, the farther off from the Bay are those mountaines From which fall certaine brookes which after come to ffe principall navigable rivers These run from the Northwest into the South east, and so into the West side of the Bay, where the fall [outfall] of every Rive^r is within 20 or 15 myles one of another

The mountaines are of divers natures for at the head of the Bay the rockes are of a composition like Mill stones Some of Marble, &c And many peeces like Christall we found, as thowne downe by wate^r from those mountaines For in Winte^r they are covered with much snow, and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in some narrow valleyes, which is scarce perceived being once in the rivers These waters wash from the rocks such glistering tinctuies, that the ground in some places seemeth as gilded, where both the rockes and the earth are so splendent to behold, *that better judgements then ours might haue beene perswaded, they contained more then probabilities*

The vesture of the earth in most places doth manifestly proue the natuie of the soyle to be lusty and very rich. The colour of the earth we found in diverse places, resembleth *bole Armoniac, terra sigillata, and Lemnia, Fullers* earth, Maile, and divers other such appearances But generally for the most part it is a blacke sandy mould, in some places a fat slimy clay, in other places a very barren gravel. But the best ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnessse of trees, or abundance of weeds, &c

The Country is not mounta[i]nous, nor yet low, but such pleasant plaine hills, and fertile valleyes, one prettily crossing another, and watered so conveniently with flesh brookes and springs, no lesse commodious, then delightsome. By the rive^rs are many plaine marshes, contain-

[1607-9] ^{Plaines} ing some 20 some 100 some 200 Aries, some moie, some lesse Other plaines there aie few, but onely where the Salvages inhabit but all [is] overgrowne with trees and weeds, being a plaine wildernesse as God first made it

¹⁶⁵⁰ On the west side of the Bay, we sayd were 5 faire and delightfull navigable riveis.

^{The river Powhatan} The first of those, and the next to the mouth of the Bay hath his course from the West Northwest It is called *Powhatan*, accoinding to the name of a principall countiy that lyeth vpon it The mouth of this river is neare three myles in breadth, yet doe the shoules force the Channell so neare the land, that a Sacre will overshoot it at point blanke [*i.e.*, less than 520 paces, see p 801] It is navigable 150 myles, the shoules and soundings are here needlesse to be expressed. It falleth from Rockes farre west in a Countiy inhabited by a nation they call *Monacans* But where it commeth into our discovery it is *Powhatan* In the farthest place that was diligently obseived, aie falles, rockes, shoules, &c which makes it past navigation *any higher* Thence in the running downward, the river is enriched with many goodly brookes, which are maintained by an infinit number of small rundles and pleasant springs, that disperse themselves for best sevice, as do the veines of a mans body

^{The branches} From the South there falleth into it First, the pleasant river of *Apamatuck* Next more to the East are two small riveis of *Quiyoughcohanocke* A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth 3 or 4 piettie brookes and creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of *Warraskoyac*, then the river of *Nandsamund*, and lastly the brooke of *Chisapeack*

From the North side is the river of *Chickahamama*, the backe river of *Janes Towne*, another by the *Cedar Isle*, where we liued ten weekes vpon Oysteis, then a convenient haibour for Fisher boats at *Kecoughtan*, that so turneth it selfe into [23] Bayes and Creekes, it makes that place very pleasant to inhabit, their cornefields being girded therein in a maner as *Peninsulaes*

The most of these riveis are inhabited by severall nations, or rather families, of the name of the riveis They haue also over those some Governour, as then King, which they call *Werowances*

In a Peninsula on the North side of this river are the

English Planted in a place by them called *James Towne*, [1607-9] in honoui of the Kings most excellent Maiestie

The fist and next the riveis mouth aie the *Kecoughtans*, who besides their women and children, haue not past 20 fighting men. The *Paspaheghes* (on whose land is seated *James Towne*, some 40 myles from the *Bay*) haue not past 40. The river called *Chickahamania* [has] neare 250. The *Weanocks* 100. The *Arrowhatocks* 30. The place called *Powhatan*, some 40. On the South side this rivei the *Appamatucks* haue sixtie fighting men. The *Quiyoungcohawocks* 25. The *Nandsamunds* 200. The *Chesapeachs* 100. Of this last place the *Bay* beareth the name. In all these places is a severall commander, which they call *Werowance*, except the *Chickahamanians*, who aie goveined by the Priests and then Assistants, or then Elders called *Caw-cawwassoughes*. In sommer no place affordeth moie plentie of *Sturgeon*, nor in wintei moie abundance of foule, especially in the time of frost. I tooke once 52 *Sturgeons* at a draught, at anothei 68. From the later end of May till the end of June are taken few, but yong *Sturgeons* of two foot or a yaid long. From thence till the midst of September, them of two or three yайдs long and few others. And in 4 or 5, houies with one Net were ordinarilie taken 7 or 8. often moie, seldome lesse. In the small riveis all the yeare there is good plentie of small fish, so that with hookes those that would take paines had sufficient.

Foueteene myles Northward from the river *Powhatan*, ^{R. Pamav-} _{kee} is the rivei *Pamavnee*, which is navigable 60 or 70 myles, but with Catches and small Barkes 30 or 40 myles farther. At the ordinary flowing of the salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches.

On the South side inhabit the people of *Youghtanund*, ^{The inhabitants} who haue about 60 men for warres. On the North branch *Mattapament*, who haue 30 men. Where this river is divided the Countiу is called *Pamavnee*, and nourisheth neare 300 able men. About 25 myles lower on the North side of this river is *Werawocomoco*, where their great King inhabited when I was delivered him prisoner, yet there aie not past 40 able men. Ten or twelue myles lower, on the South side of this rivei, is *Chiskiack*, which hath ^[s. 52]

[1607-9] some 40 or 50 men These, as also *Apamatuck*, *Irohatock*, and *Powhatan*, are their great Kings chiefe alliance, and inhabitants. The rest his Conquests

Payankatanke, R Before we come to the third river that falleth from the mountaines, there is another river (some 30 myles navigable) that commeth from the Inland, called *Payankatanke*, the Inhabitants are about 50 or 60 serviceable men

Toppahanock R The third navigable river is called *Toppahanock* (This is navigable some 130 myles) At the top of it inhabit the people called *Mannahocks* amongst the mountaines, but they are aboue the place we described.

Cuttawomen, The inhabitants Upon this river on the North side are the people *Cuttawomen*, with 30 fighting men Higher are the *Moraugh-tacunds*, with 80 Beyond them *Rapahanock* with 100 Far aboue is another *Cuttawomen* with 20 On the South is the pleasant seat of *Nantaughtacund* having 150 men This river also as the two former, is replenished with fish and foule

Patawomeke, R The fourth river is called *Patawomeke*, 6 or 7 myles in breadth It is navigable 140 myles, and fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hills These hills many of them are planted, and yeeld no lesse plentie and varietie of fruit, then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish

Wighcocomoco, The inhabitants It is inhabited on both sides First on the South side at the very entrance is *Wighcocomoco* and hath some 130 men, beyond them *Sekacawone* with 30 The *Onawmannent* with 100 And the *Patawomekes* moie then 200

Here doth the river divide it selfe into 3 or 4 convenient branches The greatest of the least is called *Quyough*, tending North-west, but the river it selfe turneth North-east, and is still a navigable stremme On the Westerne side of this bought is *Tauxenent* with 40 men On the North of this river is *Secowocomoco* with 40. Somewhat further *Potapaco* with 20 In the East part is *Pamacaeack* [24] with 60 After *Moyowance* with 100 And lastly, *Nacothtanke* with 80 The river aboue this place maketh his passage downe a low pleasant valley overshadowed in many places with high rocky mountaines, from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs

Pawtuxunt, R The fift river is called *Pawtuxunt*, of a lesse proportion then the rest, but the channell is 16 fadome deepe in

some places Heie aie infinit skuls of divers kindes of [1607-9] fish more then elswhere

Vpon this river dwell the people called *Acquintanacksuak*, *Pawtuxunt*, and *Mattapanient* Two hundred men was the greatest strength that could be there perceived But they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the iest These of all other we found most civill to gue intetainement

Thirtie leagues Northward is a river not inhabited, yet *Bulus*, R. navigable, for the red clay resembling bole *Armoniack* we called it *Bulus*.

At the end of the Bay where it is 6 or 7 myles in bieadth, it divides it selfe into 4 branches, the best commeth Northwest from among the mountaines, but though Canows may goe a dayes iourney or two vp it, we could not get two myles vp it with our boat for iocks.

The head
of the Bay

Vpon it is seated the *Sasquesahanocks*, neare it North and by West runneth a creeke a myle and a halfe at the head whereof the Ebbe left vs on shoie, where we found many trees cut with hatchets The next tyde keeping the shore to seeke for some Salvages, (for within thirtie leagues sayling, we saw not any, being a barren Countiy,) we went vp another small river like a creeke 6 or 7 myle From thence returing we met 7 Canowes of the *Massowomeks*, with whom we had conference by signes, for we vnderstood one another scarce a word the next day we discovered the small river and people of *Tockwhogh* tiending Eastward

*Sasquesa-
hanock* h.

Having lost our Grapnell among the iocks of *Sasquesahanocks*, we were then neare 200 myles from home, and our Barge about two tuns, and had in it but 12 men to perforeme this Discovery, wherein we lay aboue 12 weekes vpon those great waters in those vnknowne Countiies, having nothing but a little meale, oatemeale and water to feed vs, and scaice halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but what provision we got among the Salvages, and such rootes and fish as we caught by accident and Gods direction, nor had we a Mariner noi any [that] had skill to tūm the sayles but two saylers and my selfe, the rest being Gentlemen, oī them [that] were as ignorant in such toyle and laboui Yet necessitie in a short time by good woids and examples made them doe that that caused them ever

[1607-9] aftei to feare no colous What I did with this small meanēs I leaue to the Reader to iudge, and the Mappe I made of the Countiy, which is but a small mattei in regaid of the magnitude theieof

But to pioceed, 60 of those *Sasquesahanocks* came to vs with skins, Bowes, Airows, Targets, Beads, Swords, and Tobacco pipes for piessents Such great and well proportioned men are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neigbouris, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, [and they were] with much adoe restrained from adoring vs as Gods Those are the strangest people of all those Countries, both in language and attire, for their language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them, as a voyce in a vault Then attire is the skinnes of Beales, and Woolues, some haue Cassacks made of Beales heads and skinnes, that a mans head goes throught the skinnes neck, and the eales of the Beare fastened to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, another Beales face split behid him, and at the end of the nose hung a Pawe, the halfe sleevees comming to the elbowes were the neckes of Beales, and the armes throught the mouth, with pawes hanging at their noses One had the head of a Wolfe hanging in a chaine for a Iewell, his Tobacco pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carued with a Bird, a Deeie, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out ones braines with Bowes, Airowes, and clubs, su[1]table to their greatnessse

The
description
of a *Sasque-
sahanock*

These are scarce knowne to *Powhatan* They can make neare 600 able men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the *Massawomakes* their mortall enemies Fiuе of their chiefe *Werowances* came aboord vs, and crossed the *Bay* in the Baige The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe [p 384] The calfe of whose leg was three quarteis of a yaid about, [25] and all the rest of his limbis so answerable to that pioportion, that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld His hayre, the one side was long, the other shoie close with a ridge over his ciowne like a cocks combe His airowes were fiuے quarteis long, headed with the splinters of a white chiistall-like stone, in forme of a

heairt, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more [1607-9] long These he wroie in a Woolues skinne at his backe for his Quiver, his bow in the one hand and his clubbe in the othei, as is described

On the East side the Bay, is the river *Tockwhogh*, and vpon it a people that can make 100 men, seated some seaven myles within the river where they haue a Fort very well pallisadoed and mantelled with barkes of trees. Next them is *Ozunes* with sixty men More to the South of that East side of the Bay, the river *Rapahanock*, neare vnto which is the river *Kuskarawaock* Vpon which is seated a people with 200 men After that, is the river *Tanis Wighcocomoco*, and on it a people with 100 men

The people of those rivers aie of little stature, of another language from the rest, and very iude But they on the river *Acohanock* with 40 men, and they of *Accomack* 80 men doth equalize any of the Territories of *Powhatan*, and speake his language, who over all those doth rule as King

Southward we went to some paits of *Chawonock* and the *Mangoags* to search for them left by Master *White*

Amongst those people aie thus many severall Nations of sundry Languages, that environ *Powhatans* Territories The *Chawonockes*, the *Mangoags*, the *Monacans*, the *Mannahokes*, the *Masawomekes*, the *Powhatans*, the *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Atquanachukes*, the *Tockwoghes*, and the *Kuscarawaokes* All those notany one vndeistandeth anothei but by Interpretacions Their severall habitations are moie plainly described by this annexed Mappe [p 384], which will present to the eye, the way of the mountaines, and current of the rivers, with their seviall turnings, bayes, shoules, Isles, Inlets, and creekes, the bieadth of the wateis, the distances of places, and such like In which Mappe obserue this, that as far as you see the little Ciosses on rivers, mountaines, or other places haue beeene discovered, the rest was had by information of the Savages, and are set downe according to their instructions

*Thus haue I walkt a wayless way, with uncouth pace,
Which yet no Christian man did ever trace
But yet I know this not affects the minde,
Which eares doth heare, as that which eyes doe finde*

[p 55]
Tockwhogh, R

*Rapaha-
noc*, R
*Kus-ka-
ra-
waock*, R
*Wighco-
moco*, R

Accomack, R

Chawoneck
[pp 312, 329]

*The
several
languages*

[1607-9]

W 55

*Of such things which are naturally in Virginia,
and how the vse them*

Why the e is
little grise.

VIRGINIA doth afford many excellent vegetables, and liuing Creatures, yet grasse there is little or none, but what groweth in low Marishes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with trees, whose dioppings continually turneth their grasse to weeds, by reason of the iancknes of the ground, which would soone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that is most common is Oke and Walnut, many of their Okes are so tall and stiaight, that they will beare two foote and a halfe square of good timber for 20 yards long, Of this wood there is two or three severall kinds. The Acornes of one kinde, whose barke is more white then the other, and somewhat sweetish, which being boyled, at last affoirds a sweet oyle, that they keepe in gourds to annoiint their heads and ioynts. The fruit they eate made in bread or otherwise.

Flime

There is also some Elme, some blacke Walnut tree, and some Ash of Ash and Elme they make sope Ashes. If the trees be very great, the Ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps, but if they be small, it will be but powder, and not so good as the other.

Walnuts
Supposed
Cypres

Of walnuts there is 2 or 3 kindes, there is a kinde of wood we called Cypres, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most iensemblle it, and of those trees theire are some neare thiee fadome about at the foot, very [26] straight, and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a branch.

Mullenies

By the dwelling of the Salvages are some great Mulberry trees, and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing natuarially in piettie groues. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the wormes prospered excellent well, till the mastei workeman fell sicke During which time they were eaten with Rats.

Chesnuts

In some parts were found some Chesnuts, whose wild fruit equalize the best in *France, Spaine, Germany, or Italy*. Plums there are of three sorts. The red and white are

like our hedge plums, but the other which they call *Putchamins*, [1607-9]
Putchamins, grow as high as a *Palmeta* the fruit is like a [¶ 57]
 Medlei, it is first greeene, then yellow, and ied when it is
 ripe if it be not ripe, it will draw a mans mouth awy,
 with much torment, but when it is ripe, it is as delicious
 as an Apricot

They haue Cherries, and those are much like a Damson, *Cherries*
 but for their tastes and colour we called them Cherries
 We saw some few Crabs, but very small and bitter

Of vines great abundance in many parts that climbe *Vines*
 the topes of the highest trees in some places, but these
 beare but few grapes Except by the rivers and savage
 habitations, where they are not overshadowed from the
 sunne, they are coveied with fruit, though never pruned
 nor manured Of those hedge grapes we made neere
 twentie gallons of wine, which was like our French Brittish
 wine, but certaintely they would proue good were they well
 manured

There is another sort of grape neerie as great as a
 Cherry, this they call *Messamins*, they be fatte, and the
 iuyce thicke Neither doth the taste so well please when
 they are made in wine

They haue a small fruit growing on little trees, husked
 like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a very small
 Acorne This they call *Chechinguanins*, which they
 esteeme a great daintie They haue a beriy much like our
 Goosebeiriy, in greatnessse, colour, and tast, those they
 call *Rawcomens*, and doe eat them raw or boyled

Of these naturall fruits they liue a great part of the
 yeaie, which they vse in this manner, The Walnuts,
 Chesnuts, Acornes, and *Chechinguanins* are dried to keepe
 When they need walnuts they breake them betweene two
 stones, yet some part of the shels will cleave to the fruit
 Then doe they dry them againe vpon a Mat over a hurdle
 After they put it into a morter of wood, and beat it very
 small that done they mix it with water, that the shels
 may sinke to the bottome This water will be coloured
 as milke, which they call *Pawcohicora*, and keepe it for
 their vse

The fruit like Medleis they call *Putchamins*, they cast
 vpon huidles on a Mat, and perserue them as *Pruines* Of [¶ 58]

[1607-9] then Chesnuts and *Chechinguanins* boyled, they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, or at then greatest feasts

Besides those fruitt trees, there is a white Popular, and another tree like vnto it, that yeeldeth a very cleare and an odoriferous Gumme like Turpentine, which some call *Balsom*. There are also Cedars and *Saxafras* trees. They also yeeld gummes in a small proportion of themselues. Wee tyied conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded moie then our aits.

Berries In the wavy valleyes groweth a Berry which they call *Ocoughtananuns* very much like vnto Capers. These they dry in sommer. When they eat them they boile them neare halfe a day, for otherwise they differ not much from poysone. *Matoum* groweth as our Bents. The seed is not much vnlke to Rie, though much smaller. This they vse for a daintie bread buttered with deare suet.

Straw berries During Sommer there are either Strawberries, which ripen in Aprill, or Mulberries which ripen in May and June. Raspises, hurts, or a fruit that the inhabitants call *Maracockes*, which is a pleasant wholsome fruit much like a Lemond.

Hearbes Many herbes in the spring are comonly dispersed throughout the woods, good for brothes and sallots, as Violets, Purslain, Sorrell, &c. Besides many we vsed whose names we know not.

Rootes The chiefe root they haue for food is called *Tockawhough*. It groweth like a flagge in Marshes. In one day a Salvage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These roots are much of the greatnessse and taste of *Potatoes*. They vse to cover a great many of them with Oke leaues and Feine, and then covei all with earth in the manner of a Cole-pit, over it, on each side, they continue a great ffe 24 houres before they daie eat it [27]. Raw it is no better then poysone, and being rosted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dried in the Sunne, mixed with sorrell and meale or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreamely, and yet in sommer they vse this oindainly for bread.

[p 59]
Wighsacan
a roote They haue another roote which they call *Wighsacan*: as

th'other feedeth the body, so this cueth their huits and [1607-9] diseases It is a small root which they bniuse and apply to the wound *Pocones* is a small root that groweth in the mountaines, which Leing dried and beate in powder tuineth ied And this they vse for swellings, aches, annoiting their oynts, painting their heads and gaiments They account it very piecious, and of much worth *Musquaspen* is a roote of the bignesse of a finge[r], and as ied as bloud In diying, it will wither almost to nothing This they vse to paint their Mattes, Taigets, and such like

Pocones a
small roote

There is also *Pellitory of Spaine*, *Sasafrage*, and divers other simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good, and medicinable

Musquas-
pen a
roote

In the low Marishes grow plots of Onyons, containing an Acre of ground or more in many places, but they are small, not past the bignesse of the toppe of ones Thumbe

Pellitory
Sasafrage

Of beasts the chiefe are Deere, nothing differing from ours In the deserts towards the heads of the rivers, there are many, but amongst the riveris few

Their chiefe
beasts are
Deere

There is a beast they call *Aroughcun*, much like a badger, but vseth to liue on trees as Squirrels doe Theni Squirrels some are neare as great as our smallest sort of wilde Rabbets, some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are gray

Arough-
cun
Squirrels

A small beast they haue they call *Assapanick*, but we call them flying Squirrels, because spreading their legs, and so stretching the laigenesse of their skins, that they haue beeene seene to fly 30 or 40 yads An *Opassom* hath a head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat, and is of the bignesse of a Cat. Vnder her belly shee hath a bagge, whearin she lodgeth, carrieth, and suckleth her young. A *Mussascus* is a beast of the forme and nature of our water Rats, but many of them smell exceeding strongly of Muske Their Hares [are] no bigger then our Conies, and few of them to be found

Assapa-
nick, a
Squirrel
flying

Opassom

Mussascus

Their Beares are very little in compairison of those of *Muscovia* and *Tartaria* The Beaver is as big as an ordinary water dog, but his legs exceeding short. His forefeete like a dogs, his hindre feet like a Swans His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket, bare without

Beares
The
Beaver

[p 60]

[1607-9] **haire,** which to eat the Salvages esteeme a great delicate
Otters They haue many *Otters*, which as the *Beavers* they take
 with snares, and esteeme the skins great ornaments, and
 of all those beasts they vse to feed when they catch them.

**Vtchun
guoyes**
Foxes
Dogges
 r
Maitins
Polcats
Weesels, and
Minkes

An *Vtchunguoyes* is like a wilde Cat Their Foxes are
 like oure silver hained Conies, of a small proportion, and
 not smelling like those in *England* Their Dogges of that
 Countrey are like their Woolues, and cannot barke but howle,
 and the Woolues not much bigger then our English Foxes
 Maitins, Powlecats, Weesels, and Minkes we know they
 haue, because we haue seene many of their skinnes,
 though very seldom any of them aliue

But one thing is strange, that we could never perceiue
 their Vermine destroy our Hennes, Egges, nor Chickens,
 nor doe any hurt, nor their flies nor serpents [to be] any
 way pernicious, where[as] in the South paits of *America*
 they are alwayes dangerous, and often deadly

Birds Of Birds the Eagle is the greatest devouret Hawkes
 there be of divers sorte, as our Falconers called them
Sparrow-hawkes, Lanarets, Goshawkes, Falcons and Osperayes,
 but they all pley most vpon fish Their Partridges are
 little bigger then our Quailes Wilde Turkies are as bigge
 as our tame There are Woosels or Blackbirds with red
 shoulders, Thrushes and divers sorts of small Birds, some
 red, some blew, scarce so bigge as a Wrenne, but few in
 Sommer In Winter there are great plentie of Swans,
 Cranes gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geese,
 Brants, Ducke, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeies, Pairats, and
 Pigeons Of all those sorts great abundance, and some
 other strange kinds, to vs vnknowne by name But in
 Sommer not any, or a very few to be seene

Fish Of fish we were best acquainted with Sturgeon, Giampus,
 Porpus, Seales, *Stingraies* [28] whose tailes are very
 dangerous Bretts, Mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts,
 Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Conyfish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lam-
 preys, Catfish, Shades, Peaich of three sorts, Crabs,
 Shrimps, Crevises, Oysters, Cocles, and Muscles But
 the most strange fish is a small one, so like the picture
 of St George his Dragon, as possible can be, except his

legs and wings, and the Toadefish, which will swell till it [1607-9] be like to burst, when it commeth into the ayre

Concerning the entrailes of the eaith, little can be said The rockes for certaintie There wanted good Refineis, for those that tooke vpon them to haue skill this way, tooke vp the washings from the mountaines, and some moskeied shining stones and spangles which the wateis brought downe, flattening themselves in then owne vaine conceits to haue beene supposed what they were not, by the meanes of that oie, if it proued as then aits and iudgements expected Onely this is certaine, that many 1egions lying in the same latitude, afford Mines very iich of divers natures The crust also of these 10ckes would easily periswade a man to beleewe there aie other Mines then yron and steele, if there were but meanes and men of experiance that knew the Mine from Spar

*Of their Planted fruits in Virginia,
and how they use them*

 Hey divide the yeare into fие seasons Their winter some call *Popanow*, the spring, *Cattapeuk*, How they divide the yeare. the sommer *Cohattayough*, the earing of their Coine *Nepinough*, the haivest and fall of leafe *Taqutock* From September vntill the midst of November are the chiefe feasts and sacrifice Then haue they plentie of fiuits as well planted as natuiall, as corne greene and ripe, fish, fowle, and wilde beasts exceeding fat

The greatest labour they take, is in planting their corne, How they prepare the ground for the Country naturally is overgiowne with wood To priepare the giound they bruise the baike of the trees neare the root, then doe they scorch the 10ots with fire that they grow no more

The next yeare with a crooked peece of wood they beat [¶ 62] vp the weeds by the 1ootes, and in that mould they plant their Corne Their manner is this They make a hole in the eaith with a sticke, and into it they put foure graineis of wheate and two of beanies. These holes they

[1607-9] make fouie foote one from another, Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne middle high, they hill it about like a hop-yard

How they plant

In Aprill they begin to plant, but then chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of Iune What they plant in Apull they ieape in August, for May in September, for Iune in October, Every stalke of then corne commonly beareth two eares, some three, seldom any foure, many but one, and some none Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt 200 and 500 graines The stalke being greene hath a sweet iuice in it, somewhat like a sugar Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their corne greene, they sucke the stalkes for as we gather greene pease, so doe they their corne being greene, which excelleth their old

They plant also pease they call *A sentamens*, which are the same they call in *Italy*, *Fagioli* Then Beanes are the same the Turkes call *Garnanses*, but these they much esteeme for dainties

How they use theu Corne

Their corne they lost in the eare greene, and bruising it in a morter of wood with a Polt, lap it in rowles in the leaues of their corne, and so boyle it for a daintie They also reserue that corne late planted that will not ripe, by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it In winter they esteeme it being boyled with beanies for a rare dish, they call *Pausarowmena* Their old wheat they fist steepe a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a morter They vse a small basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, ieceive the flower in a platte made of wood, scraped to that forme with burning [29] and shels Tempering this flower with wate, they make it either in cakes, covering them with ashes till they be baked, and then washing them in fauie wate, they drin presently with their owne heat or else boyle them in wate, eating the broth with the bread which they call *Ponap*.

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The groutes and peeces of the coines remaining, by fanning, in a Platte or in the wind, away the bianne, they boyle 3 or 4 houies with wate, which is an ordinary food they call *Vstatahamen*. But some moie thiiftie then

cleanly, doe burne the core of the eare to powder, which [1607-9] they call *Pungnough*, mingling that in their meale, but it never tasted well in bread, nor broth

Their fish and flesh they boyle either very tenderly, or boyle it so long on huidles over the fire, or else after the Spanish fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, till it be as done as then ieink Beefe in the west Indies, that they may keepe it a moneth or moie without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eat as commonly as the meat

How they
use their fish
and flesh

In May also amongst their corne they plant *Pumpions*, and a fruit like vnto a muske mellon, but lesse and worse, which they call *Macocks*. These increase exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of July, and continue vntill September. They plant also *Maracocks* a wild fruit like a Lemmon, which also increase infinitely. They begin to ripe in September, and continue till the end of October.

Planted
fruits

When all their fruits be gathered, little els they plant, and this is done by their women and childien, neither doth this long suffice them, for neare three parts of the yeare, they onely obserue times and seasons, and lue of what the Country naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c

The Commodities in Virginia, or that may be had by Industrie

He mildnesse of the ayre, the fertilitie of the soyle, and situation of the rivers are so propitious to the nature and vse of man, as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance, vnder that latitude or climat. Here will lue any beasts, as horses, goats, sheepe, asses, hens, &c as appeared by them that were carried therethen. The waters, Isles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of waire or marchandize, for boats of all sorts, for tansportation or fishing, &c

[§ 64]
A prooffe
cattell will
lue well

The Bay and rivers haue much marchantable fish, and places fit for Salt coats, building of ships, making of Iron, &c

[1607-8]

The Com-
modities

Muscovia and *Polonia* doe yearely receiue many thousands, for pitch, tarie, sopeashes, Rosen, Flax, Coidege, Sturgeon, Masts, Yards, Wainscot, Filles, Glasse, and such like, also *Swethland* for Iron and Coppel *France* in like manner, for Wine, Canvas, and Salt *Spaine* asmuch for Iion, Steele, Figges, Reasons, and Sackes *Italy* with Silkes and Velvets consumes our chiefe Commodities *Holland* maintaines it selfe by fishing and trading at oure owne doores All these temporize [*traffic*] with other for necessities, but all as vncertaine as peace or warres Besides the charge, travell, and danger in transporting them, by seas, lands, stormes, and Pyiats Then how much hath *Virginia* the p[er]erogatiue of all those flourishing Kingdomes, for the benefit of our Land, when as within one hundred myles all those are to be had, either ready provided by nature, or else to be prepared, were there but industrious men to labour Onely of Copper we may doubt is wanting, but there is good probabilitie that both Copper and better Minerals are theire to be had for their labour. Other Countries haue it So then heire is a place, a nusse for souldiers, a practise for mariners, a trade for maichants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a busynesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore Infidels to the knowledge of God and his holy Gospell

[p 65]

Of the naturall Inhabitants of VIRGINIA.

The
numbers

Seauen
hundred
men were
the most
were seene
together
when they
thought to
have sur-
prised
Captaine
Smith

JHe land is not populous, for the men be few, their far greater number is of women and childien Within 60 myles of *James Towne*, there are about some 5000 people, but of able men fit for their warres scarce 1500 To nourish so many [30] together they haue yet no meanes, because they make so small a benefit of their land, be it never so fertile

Six or seauen hundred haue beeene the most [that] hath beeene seene together, when they gathereid themselves to haue surprised mee at *Panavnkee*, having but fifteene to withstand the worst of their fury [p 457] As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beeene discovered, is in comparsion of that yet vnknowne The

people differ very much in stature, especially in language, [1607-9] as before is expressed

Some being very great as the *Sasquesahanocks* others very little, as the *Wighcocomocoës* but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are boine white Their hayre is generally blacke, but few haue any beards The men weare halfe their beards [*heads*] shaven, the other halfe long, for Barbers they vse their women, who with two shels will grate away the hayre, of any fashion they please The women [*i.e., their hair*] are cut in many fashions, agreeable to their yeares, but ever some part remaineth long

They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods vnder a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in Ambuscado in the Sommei

They are inconstant in every thing, but what feare constraineth them to keepe Craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension, and very ingenuous Some aie of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all Savage Generally covetous of Copper, Beads, and such like trash They are soone moued to anger, and so malicious, that they seldom forget an iniury they seldom steale one from another, least their coniurers should reveale it, and so they be pursued and punished That they are thus feared is certaine, [p. 661] but that any can reueale their offences by coniuration I am doubtfull Their women are carefull not to be suspected of dishonestie without the leaue of their husbands

Each houshold knoweth their owne lands, and gardens, and most lue of their owne labours

For their apparell, they are some time covered with the skinnes of wilde beasts, which in Winter are dressed with the hayre, but in Sommer without. The better sort vse large mantels of Deare skins, not much differing in fashion from the Irish mantels Some imbrodered with white beads, some with Copper, other painted after their manner But the common sort haue scarce to cover their nakednesse, but with grasse, the leaues of trees, or such like We haue seene some vse mantels made of Turky feathers, so prettily wrought and woven with thieads that nothing could be discerned but the feathers That was

A description of the people

The Barbers

The constitution

The disposition

The possessions

Their attire

[1607-9] exceeding warme and very handsome But the women are alwayes covered about their middles with a skin, and very shamefast to be seene bair

Their ornaments

They adorne themselues most with copper beads and paintings Their women, some haue their legs, hands, breasts, and face cunningly imbiodeied [*tattooed*] with divers workes, as beasts, serpents, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots In each eare commonly they haue 3 great holes, whereat they hang chaines, bracelets, or copper Some of their men weare in those holes, a small greene and yellow coloured snake, neare halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her selfe about his necke oftentimes familiarly would kisse his lips Others weare a dead Rat tyed by the tale Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird, or some laige feather with a Rattell Those Rattells are somewhat like the chape of a Rapier but lesse, which they take from the taile of a snake Many haue the whole skinne of a Hawke or some strange foule, stuffed with the wings aboad Others a broad peece of Coppe, and some the hand of their enemy dried Their heads and shouldeis are painted red with the roote Pocone brayed to powdeir, mixed with oyle, this they hold in sommei to preserue them from the heate, and in winter from the cold Many other formes of paintings they vse, but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behold

b 671

Their buildings

Their buildings and habitations aie for the most part by the rivers, or not farre distant from some fresh spring Their houses are built like our Arbors, of small young springs bowed and tyed, and so close covered with Mats, or the barkes of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde, raine, or weather, they aie as warme as stooues, but very smoaky, yet at the toppe of the house there is a hole made for the smoake to goe into ight over the fire [31]

Their lodgings

Against the fire they lie on little hurdles of Reeds covered with a Mat, borne from the ground a foote and more by a hurdle of wood On these round about the house they lie heads and points one by th'other against the fire, some covered with Mats, some with skins, and some starke naked lie on the ground, from 6 to 20 in a house

Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gaide[n]s, [1607-9]
 which are small plots of ground Some 20 acres, some
 40 some 100 some 200 some moie, some lesse In
 some places from 2 to 50 of those houses together, or but
 a little separated by groues of tree[s] Neare their habi-
 tations is little small wood or old trees on the ground by
 reason of their burning of them for fire So that a man
 may gallop a horse amongst these woods any way, but
 where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder

Men, women, and childien haue then sev[er]all names
 according to the sev[er]all humor of their Parents Then
 women (they say) are easily delivered of childe, yet doe
 they loue children very dearely To make them hardie,
 in the coldest mornings they wash them in the riveis,
 and by paint[ing] and oyntments so tanne then skinne[s],
 that after a yeaire or two, no weather will hurt them

The men bestow their times in fishing, hunting, warres,
 and such man-like exercises, scorning to be seene in any
 woman-like exercise, which is the cause that the women
 be very painefull, and the men often idle The women
 and children doe the rest of the worke They make mats,
 baskets, pots, morters, pound their coine, make their
 bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather
 their corne, beare all kind of burdens, and such like

Their fire they kindle presently by chafing a diy pointed
 sticke in a hole of a little square peece of wood, that fuing
 it selfe, will so fire mosse, leaues, or any such like dry
 thing, that will quickly buine

In March and Aprill they haue much vpon then fishing
 w[e]llies, and feed on fish, Turkies, and Squiueis In May
 and Iune they plant then fields, and haue most of Acoines,
 Walnuts, and fish But to amend their dyet, some disperse
 themselues in small companies, and haue vpon fish, beasts,
 crabs, oysters, land Tortoises, strawberries, mulberies,
 and such like In Iune, July, and August, they feed vpon
 the rootes of *Tocknough*, berries, fish, and greeene wheat

It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their dyet,
 even as the deere and wilde beasts they seeme fat and leane,
 strong and weake Powhatan their great King, and some
 otheris that aie piovident, rost then fish and flesh vpon
 hurdles as before is expressed, and keepe it till scarce times

Their
gardensHow they
use their
childrenThe indus-
try of their
women[§ 68]
How they
strike fireThe order
of dyet

[1607-9]
How they
make their
bowes and
arrowes

For fishing, hunting, and wailes they vse much then bow and arrowes They bring their bowes to the forme of ours by the scraping of a shell Their arrowes are made, some of straight young spugs, which they head with bone, some 2 or 3 ynches long These they vse to shoot at Squirrels on trees Another sort of arrowes they vse made of Reeds These are peeced with wood, headed with splinters of chistall, or some sharpe stone, the spuilles of a Tukey, or the bill of some bird For his knife he hath the splinter of a Reed to cut his feathers in forme With this knife also, he will ioynt a Deere, or any beast, shape his shooes, buskins, mantels, &c. To make the noch of his arrow he hath the tooth of a Beaver, set in a sticke, wherewith he grateth it by degrees His arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, whiche he ever weareth at his bacert, of any splint of a stone, or glasse in the forme of a heart, and these they glew to the end of their arrowes With the sinewes of Deere, and the tops of Deeres hornes boyled to a ielly, they make a glew that will not dissolve in cold water

Their
Targets and
Swords
[p 69]

For their warres also they vse Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a sword of wood at their backes, but oftentimes they vse for swords the horne of a Deere put through a peice of wood in forme of a Pickaxe Some a long stone sharpned at both ends, vsed in the same manner This they were wont to vse also for hatchets, but now by trucking they haue plentie of the same forme of yron And those are their chiefe instruments and armes

Their Boats

Their fishing is much in Boats These they make of one tree by burning and scratching away the coales with stones and shels, till they haue made it in forme of a [32] Trough Some of them are an elne deepe, and fortie or fiftie foote in length, and some will beare 40 men, but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare 10, 20, or 30 according to their bignesse Instead of Oaes, they vse Paddles and stickes, with which they will row faster then our Barges.

How they
spin

Betwixt then hands and thighes, their women vse to spin the barkes of trees, Deeres sinewes, or a kind of grasse

they call *Pemmenaw*, of these they make a thread very even [1607-9] and readily This thiead serveth for many vses As about their housing, apparell, as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantitie as formallly braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles

Their hookes are either a bone grated as they noch their ^{Their fish hookes} arrowes in the forme of a crooked pinne or fish-hooke, or of the splinter of a bone tyed to the clift of a little sticke, and with the end of the line, they tie on the bate

They vse also long arrowes tyed in a line, wherewith they shoote at fish in the riveis But they of *Accawmack* vse staues like vnto Iauelins headed with bone With these they dart fish swimming in the water They haue also many artificiall w[e]lles, in which they get abundance of fish

In their hunting and fishing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteeme it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein And by their continuall ranging, and travell, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deere, Beasts, Fish, Foule, Roots, and Berries At their huntings they leaue their habitations, and reduce themselves into companies, as the *Tartars* doe, and goe to the most deserte places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling vp towards the moutaines, by the heads of their rivers, where there is plentie of game For betwixt the rivers the grounds are so narrowe, that little commeth heire which they devoure not. It is a marvell they can so directly passe these deserts, some 3 or 4 dayes journey without habitation Their hunting houses are like vnto Arbouris covered with Mats These then women beare after them, with Corne, Acoines, Morters, and all bag and baggage they vse When they come to the place of exercise, every man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excelling in those qualities, they get their wiues Fortie yards will they shoot levell, or very neare the marke, and 120 is their best at Random At their huntings in the deserts they are commonly two or three hundred together Having found the Deere, they environ them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselues And some take their stands in the midsts. The Deere being thus feared by the fires, and

How they hunt

[p 70]

[1607-9] their voyces, they chase them so long within that circle, that many times they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 at a hunting. They vse also to drue them into some narrow poynt of land, when they find that advantage, and so foice them into the iivei, where with their boats they haue Ambuscadoes to kill them. When they haue shot a Deere by land, they follow him like bloud-hounds by the bloud and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Partridges, Turkies, or Egges, fat or leane, young or old, they devoure all they can catch in their power.

In one of these huntings they found me in the discovey of the head of the iivei of Chickahamania, where they slew my men, and tooke me prisoner in a Bogmire, where I saw those exercisces, and gathered these Observations.

One Salvage hunting alone

One Salvage hunting alone, vseth the skinne of a Deere slit on the one side, and so put on his arme, through the neck, so that his hand comes to the head which is stuffed, and the hornes, head, eyes, eares, and every part as artificially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shiowding his body in the skinne by stalking, he appioacheth the Deere, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deere chance to find fault, or stand at gaze, he turneth the head with his hand to his best advantage to seeme like a Deere, also gazing and licking himselfe. So watching his best advantage to approach, having shot him, he chaseth him by his bloud and straine till he get him.

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Their Consultations

Their enemies

When they intend any warres, the Werowances vsually haue the advice of their Priests and Coniurers, and their allies, and ancient friends, but chieflyly the Priests determine their resolution. Every Werowance, or some lustie fellow, they appoint [33] Captaine over every nation. They seldom make waire for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They haue many enemies, namely, all their westernly Countiess beyond the mountaines, and the heads of the iivers. Vpon the head of the Powhatans are the Monacans, whose chiefe habitation is at Rasauweak, vnto whom the Mowhemenchughes, the Massin-nacacks, the Monahassanughs, the Monasickapanoughs, and other nations pay tributes.

Vpon the head of the river of Toppahanock is a people called Mannahoacks. To these are contribute the Tauxanas,

the *Shackaconias*, the *Ontponeas*, the *Tegninateos*, the *Whon-kenteaes*, the *Stegarakes*, the *Hassinnungaes*, and divers others, all confederates with the *Monacans*, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, liuing for the most part of wild beasts and fruits

Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river *Patawomeke*, the Salvages report inhabit their most mortall enemies, the *Massawomekes*, vpon a great salt water, which by all likelihood is either some part of *Cannada*, some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South sea These *Massawomekes* are a great nation and very populous For the heads of all those rivers, especially the *Pattawomekes*, the *Pautuxintes*, the *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Tockwoughes* are continually tormented by them of whose crueltie, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with me and my company to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose they offeered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subjection

Which I concluded to effect But the councell then present emulating my successe, would not thinke it fit to spare me fotie men to be hazzarded in those vnknowne regions, having passed (as before was spoken of) but with 12, and so was lost that opportunitie

Seaven boats full of these *Massawomekes* wee encountered at the head of the *Bay*, whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Plattein, Bowes, and Arrowes, and every thing shewed, they much exceeded them of our parts, and their dexteritie in their small boats, made of the barkes of trees sowed with baize and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are seated vpon some great water

Against all these enemies the *Powhatans* are constained sometimes to fight Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, iecheries, or surprisals Yet the *Werowances*, women and children they put not to death, but keepe them Captiuies They haue a method in warre, and for our pleasures they shewed it vs, and it was in this maner perfoimed at *Mattapament*

Having painted and disguised themselues in the fiercest manner they could devise They divided themselues into two Companies, neare a hundred in a company. The one company called *Monacans*, the other *Powhatans*. Either

Massawomekes

Their offer of subjection

Their manner of Battell

[1607-9] army had their Captaine. These as enemies tooke their stands a musket shot one from another, ranked themselves 15 a breast, and each ranke from another 4 or 5 yards, not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles. So the Reare could shoot as conveniently as the Fiont.

Having thus pitched the fields from either part went a messenger with these conditions, that whosoever were vanquished, such as escape vpon their submission in two dayes after should live, but their wiues and childien should be prize for the Conquerours

The messengers were no soone retorne, but they approached in their orderis, On each flanke a Serieant, and in the Reare an Office for Lieutenant, all duly keeping their orderis, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune, which they onely vse in Waies Vpon the first flight of arrowes they gaue such horribble shouts and screeches, as so many infernall hell hounds could not haue made them more terrible.

When they had spent their arrowes, they ioyned together piettily, chraiging and retyring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage they catched their enemies by the hayie of the head, and downe he came that was taken His enemy with his wooden swond seemed to beat out his braines, and still they clept to the Reare, to maintaine the skirmish

U 731 The *Monacans* decreasinge, the *Powhatans* charged them in the forme of a halfe Moone, they vnwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their *Ambuscadoes*, on whom they led them very cunningly The *Monacans* dispeise themselves among the fresh men, wherevpon the [34] *Powhatans* retired, with all speed to their seconds, which the *Monacans* seeing, tooke that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each retorne to their owne quarter

All their actions, voyces, and gestures, both in charging and retiring were so strained to the height of their qualtie and nature, that the strangenesse thereof made it seeme very delightfull

Foi their Musicke they vse a thicke Cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder For their waries they haue a great deepe platter of wood They cover the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a walnut,

which meeting on the backside neere the bottome, with a [1607-9] small iope they twitch them together till it be so tough and stiffe, that they may beat vpon it as vpon a diumme. But their chiefe instruments aie Rattles made of small gowds, or Pumpeons shels. Of these they haue Base, Tenor, Counteretenor, Meane, and Treble These mingled with their voyces sometimes twenty or thirtie together, make such a terrible noise as would rather affright, then delight any man

If any great commandei aiuue at the habitation of a *Werowance*, they spread a Mat as the Turkes doe a Carpet for him to sit vpon. Vpon another right opposite they sit themselues Then doe all with a tunable voice of shouting bid him welcome. After this doe two or moie of their chiefest men make an Oration, testifying thei loue Which they doe with such vehemency, and so great passions, that they sweat till they drop, and are so out of breath they can scarce speake. So that a man would take them to be exceeding angry, or stark mad Such victuall as they haue, they spend freely, and at night where his lodging is appointed, they set a woman fleshe painted red with *Pocones* and oyle, to be his bed-fellow.

Their enter
tunement

Their maner of trading is for copper, beads, and such like, for which they glie such commodities as they haue, as skins, foule, fish, flesh, and their Country Corne. But their victualls aie their chiefest riches

{ 674]
Their trade

Every spring they make themselues sicke with drinking the iuyce of a roote they call *Wighsacan*, and water, whereof they powre so great a quantitie, that it purgeth them in a very violent manner; so that in three or four dayes after, they scaice recovei their former health

Then
Physicke

Sometimes they are troubled with dropsies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases, for cuie whereof they build a Stoue in the forme of a Doue-house with mats, so close that a few coales therein covered with a pot, will make the patient sweat extreamely For swellings also they vse small peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloues, which pricking on the grieve they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth With this roote *Wighsacan* they ordinarily heale greene wounds. But to scarrifie a swelling, or make incision, then best

Their
Churc h

[1607-9] instruments aie some splinted stone Old vlcers, or putifid huits aie seldome seene cured amongst them
 Then charms to cure They haue many professed Phisicians, who with their chaimes and Rattles, with an iefeinall iout of woids and actions, will seeme to sucke then inward griefe from their navels, or then grieved places, but of oure Chirurgians they were so conceited, that they beleue any Plaister would heale any huit

*But 'tis not alwayes in Phisicians skill,
 To heale the Patient that is sick and ill
 For sometimes sicknesse on the Patients part,
 Proves stronger farre then all Phisicians art*

Of their Religion

There is yet in *Virginea* no place discouered to be so Savage, in which they haue not a Religion, Deere, and Bow and Arrowes All things that are able to doe them huit beyond their piewention, they adorē with their kinde of divine woiship, as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our Ordnance, peeces, houses, &c

¶ 751
 Their God But their chiefe God they woiship is the Devill Him they call *Okee*, [35] and serue him more of feare then loue They say they haue conference with him, and fashion themselues as neare to his shape as they can imagine In their Temples they haue his image euill favouriedly caived, and then painted and adorned with chaines of copper, and beads, and coveied with a skin, in such manner as the deformitie may well suit with such a God

How they bury their Kings By him is commonly the sepulcher of their Kings Their bodies aie first bowelled, then diued vpon huylles till they be very dry, and so about the most of their ioynts and necke they hang bracelets, or chaines of copper, pearle, and such like, as they vse to weare, their inwards they stiffe with copper beads, hatchets, and such trash Then lappe they

them very carefullly in white skins, and so rowle them in [1607-9] mats for thei winding sheets And in the Tombe which is an aich made of mats, they lay them oderly What remaineth of this kinde of wealth their Kings haue, they set at their feet in baskets These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests

For their ordinary burials, they dig a deepe hole in the earth with shapre stakes, and the corps being lapped in skins and mats with their jewels, they lay them vpon sticke in the ground, and so cover them with earth The burial ended, the women being painted all their faces with blacke cole and oyle, doe sit twenty-fourre hours in the houses mourning and lamenting by tuines, with such yelling and howling, as may expresse their great passions

Their
ordinary
burials

In every Reiritoiy of a Werowance is a Temple and a Priest, two or three or more Then principall Temple or place of superstition is at *Vitanussack* at *Panavnkee*, neare vnto which is a house, Temple, or place of *Powhatans*

Their
temples

Vpon the top of certayne red sandy hils in the woods, there are three great houses filled with images of their Kings, and Devils, and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare sixtie foot in length built arbourwise, after their building This place they count so holy as that [none] but the Priests and Kings daie come into them, nor the Salvages daie not goe vp the river in boats by it, but they solemnly cast some peice of copper, white beads, or *Pocones* into the rive, for feare their *Okee* should be offended and revenged of them

[x 76]

Thus, *Feare was the first their Gods bogot*
Till feare began, their Gods were not.

In this place commonly are resident seauen Priests The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments, but inferiour Priests could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their jewels at

Their
ornaments
for their
Priests

The ornaments of the chiefe Priest were certaine attires for his head made thus They tooke a dosen, or 16, or more snakes skins and stuffed them with mosse, and of Weesels and other Vermimes skins a good many All these

[1607-8] they tie by thei tailes, so as all their tailes meeet in the toppe of their head like a great Tassell Round about this Tassell is as it were a crowne of feathereis, the skins hang round about his head, necke, and shouldeis, and in a manner cover his face

The faces of all their Priests are painted as vgly as they can devise, in their hands they had evey one his Rattle, some base [*in tune*], some smaller Their devotion was most in songs, which the chiefe Piest beginneth and the rest followed him sometimes he maketh invocations with broken sentences by staits and stiange passions, and at every pause, the rest give a short groane

*Thus seeke they in deepe foolishnesse,
To clumbe the height of happynesse .*

^{The time of solemnities} It could not be peiceued that they keepe any day as more holy then other, But onely in some great distresse of want, feare of enemies, times of triumph and gatheiring together their fiuits, the whole Country of men, women, and children come together to solemnities The manner of their devotion is, sometimes to make a great fire, in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it with Rattles and shouts [36] together, foure or fife houies. Sometimes they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing, he all the while clapping his hands, as if he would keepe time and after their songs and dauncings ended they goe to thei Feasts

*Through God begetting feare,
Mans blinded minde did reare
A hell-god to the ghosts ,
A heaven-god to the hoasts ,
Yea God unto the Seas
Feare did c:reate all these*

^{Their coniurations} They haue also divers coniurations, one they made when I was their prisoner, of which hereafter you shall reade at large [pp 76, 398].

^{16 11} ^{Their Altars} They haue also certaine Altar stones they call *Pawcorances*, but these stand from thei Temples, some by their houses, others in the woods and wildernesses, where they

haue had any extraordinaiy accident, or encounter And [1607-9]
as you travell, at those stones they will tell you the cause
why they were there erected, which from age to age they
instruct their children, as their best records of antiquities.
Vpon these they offe bloud, Deere suet, and Tobacco
This they doe when they retuine from the Waues, from
hunting, and vpon many other occasions

They haue also another superstition that they vse in
stormes, when the wateis are rough in the Riveis and Sea
coasts Their Coniuieis runne to the water sides, or
passing in their boats, after many hellish outcryes and
invocations, they cast Tobacco, Coppei, Pocones, or such
trash into the water, to pacifie that God whom they thinke
to be very angry in those stoimes

Sacrifices to
the water *

Before ther dinneris and suppeis the better soit will take
the first bit, and cast it in the fire, which is all the gracie
they aie knowne to vse

In some part of the Country they haue yearlye a sacri-
fice of children Such a one was at Quyoughcohanock
some ten myles from Iames Towne, and thus performed

Fifteene of the properest young boyes, betweene ten and
fifteene yeaires of age they painted white Having brought
them forth, the people spent the forenoone in dancing and
singing about them with Rattles

Their
solemn
Sacrifice
of
children,
which they
call Black-
boyes

In the afteinoone they put those chilidren to the roote of
a tree By them all the men stood in a guaid, every one
having a Bastinado in his hand, made of reeds bound [p. 781
together This made a lane betweene them all along,
thiough which there were appointed fife young men to
fetch these chilidren so every one of the fife went thiough
the guard to fetch a childe each after other by turnes, the
guard fierely beating them with their Bastinadoes, and
they patiently enduring and receiuing all defending the
chilidren with their naked bodies from the vnmeicfull
blowes, that pay them soundly, though the children
escape All this while the women weepe and cry out very
passionately, prouiding mats, skins, mosse, and dry wood,
as things fitting their chilidrens funerals

Aftre the chilidren were thus passed the guaid, the guard
toe down the tees, banches and boughs, with such violence
that they rent the body, and made wreaths for their heads,

[1607-~~E~~] or bedecked them hayre with the leaues What els was done with the childien, was not seene, but they were all cast on a heape, in a valley as dead, where they made a great feast for all the company

Those
Blackboyes
are made so
mad with a
kind of
drinke, that
they will do
any mis
chief, at the
command
of their
Keepers

The *Werowance* being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered that the childien were not all dead, but that the *Okee* or *Dowell* did sucke the bloud from their left bieast, who chanced to be his by lot, till they were dead, but the rest were kept in the wildeinesse by the young men till nine moneths were expiied, dungi which time they must not converse with any and of these were made their Priests and Coniureis

This sacrifice they held to be so necessary, that if they should omit it, then *Okee* or *Devill*, and all then other *Quiyoughcosughes*, which are their other Gods, would let them haue no Deere, Tuukies, Coine, nor fish and yet besides, he would make a great slaughter amongst them

Their
resurrection

They thinke that their *Werowances* and *Priests* which they also esteeme *Quiyoughcosughes*, when they are dead, doe goe beyond the mountaines towards the setting of the sunne, and evei remaine there in forme of their *Okee*, with their heads painted [37] with oyle and *Pocones*, finely trimmed with feathirs, and shall haue beads, hatchets, copper, and Tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing, with all their Predecessors

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But the common people they suppose shall not liue after death, but iot in their graues like dead dogs

To divert them from this blind Idolatriy, we did our best endevours, chiefly with the *Werowance* of *Quiyoughcohanock*, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those Countiess, with whom although we could not as yet plevaile, to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleue that our God as much exceeded theirs, as ouir Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrowes and many times did send to me to *James Towne*, intreating me to pray to my God for raine, for their Gods would not send them any And in this lamentable ignorance doe these poore soules sacrifice themselues to the Devill, not knowing their Creator, and we had not language sufficient, so plainly to expresse it as make them vnderstand it, which God grant they may

Fol, Religion 'tis that doth distinguish vs,
From their brutt humor, well we may it know,
That can with understanding argue thus,
Our God is truth, but they cannot doe so

[1607-9]



Of the manner of the Virginians Government

ALthough the Country people be very barbarous, yet haue they amongst them such government, as that their Magistrates for good commanding, and their people for due subiection and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill

The forme of their Common-wealth is a Monarchicall government, one as Emperour ruleth ouer many Kings or Govenours Their chiefe ruler is called *Powhatan*, and taketh his name of his principall place of dwelling called *Powhatan* But his proper name is *Wahunsonacock*

Some Countiess he hath which haue beeene his ancestoires, and came vnto him by inheritance, as the County called *Powhatan*, *Arrohateck*, *Appamatuck*, *Pamavnee*, *Youghanund*, and *Mattapanient* All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Mappe, they report haue beeene his severall Conquests

In all his ancient inheritances, he hath houses built after their manner like auboris, some 30 some 40 yards long, and at every house provision for his entertainement according to the time At *Werowcomoco* on the Noith side of the rivei *Pamavnee*, was his residence, when I was delievered him prisoner, some 14 myles from *James* Towne, where for the most pait, he was resident, but at last he tooke so little pleasurie in our neare neighbourhood, that he retiued himselfe to *Orapakes*, in the desert betwixt *Chickahannana* and *Youghanund* [p 80]

He is of personage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke, his head somewhat gray, his beaid so

A descript-
tion of
Powhatan

[1607-8] thinne, that it seemeth none at all, his age neare sixtie; of a very able and hardy body to endure any labouer. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guaid of 40 or 50 of the tallest men his Countrey doth afford. Every night vpon the foure quarteis of his house are foure Sentinels, each from othei a flight shoot, and at evey halfe houie one from the *Corps du guard* doth hollow, shaking his lips with his finger betweene them, vnto whom every Sentinell doth answei round from his stand if any faile, they presently send foorth an officei that beateth him extreamely.

His treasury A myle from *Orapakes* in a thicket of wood, he hath a house in which he keepeth his kinde of Tresurie, as skinnes, copper, peale, and beads, which he stoereth vp against the time of his death and buriall. • Here also is his stoor of red paint for oyntment, bowes and arrowes, Taigets and clubs. This house is fiftie or sixtie yards in length, frequented onely by Piiests. At the foure corners of this house stand foure [38] Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the third like a Leopard, and the fourth like a giantlike man all made evill favouredly, according to thei best workmanship.

His wives He hath as many women as he will, wherof when he lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and anothei at his feet, but when he sitteth, one sitteth on his ight hand and anothei on his left. As he is weary of his women, he bestoweth them on those that best deserue them at his hands.

When he dineth or suppeth, one of his women, before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wooden platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of feathers to wipe them in stead of a Towell, and the feathers when he hath wiped are dried againe.

[p 8x]
His successors His kingdomes descend not to his sonnes noi childien, but first to his brethren, wherof he hath 3 namely, *Opitchapan*, *Opechancanough*, and *Catataugh*, and after their decease to his sisteris. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest, and after them to the heires male or female of the eldest sister, but never to the heires of the males.

Their authority He noi any of his people vndeystand any letteis, whereby to write or reade, onely the lawes whereby he ruleth is

custome Yet when he listeth his will is a law and must [1607-9] be obeyed not onely as a King, but as halfe a God they esteeme him

His infernall Kings, whom they call *Werowances*, are tyed to rule by customes, and haue power of life and death at their command in that natuie But this wold *Werowance*, which we call and construe for a King, is a common wold, whereby they call all commanders for they haue but few wolds in their language, and but few occasions to vse any officeis moare then one commander, which commonly they call *Werowance*, or *Caucorouse*, which is Captaine.

They all know their severall lands, and habitations, and limits, to fish, foule, or hunt in but they hold all of them great *Werowance Powhatan*, vnto whom they pay tribute of skinnes, beads, copper, pearle, deeie, tukies, wld beasts, and coine. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing It is strange to see with what great feare and adoration, all these people doe obey this *Powhatan*. For at his feet they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his blow, then greatest spirits will tiemble with feare and no marvell, for he is very terrible and tyannous in punishing such as offend him

The tenor
of their
lands

For example, he caused certaine malefacto:is to be bound hand and foot, then having of many fires gathered great stoe of burning coales, they take these coales round in the forme of a cock-pit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to birole to death Sometimes he causeth the heads of them that offend him, to be laid vpon the altaie or sacrificing stone, and one with clubbes beats out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enemy or malefactor, he causeth him to be tyed to a tree, and with Muzzell shels or reeds, the executioner cutteth off his royns one after another, ever casting what they cut of into the fire, then doth he proceed with shels and reeds to case the skinne from his head and face, then doe they rip his belly and so burne him with the tree and all Thus themselues reported they executed *George Cassen*

His manner
of punishments

[4 82]

[Ap 82,98,395 1]

Their ordinary correction is to beate them with cudgels We haue seene a man kneeling on his knees, and at *Powhatans* command, two men haue beate him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senselesse in a sound, and yet never

[1607-9]

cry nor complained And he made a woman for playing the whore, sit vpon a greate stone, on her bare bieech twenty-foure houies, onely with corne and water, every three dayes, till nine dayes were past, yet he loued her exceedingly notwithstanding there are common whores by profession

In the yeaie 1608, he surprised the people of *Payanhantank* his neare neighbours and subiects The occasion was to vs vnknowne, but the maner was thus First he sent divers of his men as to lodge amongst them that night, then the *Ambuscadoes* environed all their houses, and at the houie appointed, they all fell to the spoyle. twenty-fourie men they slew, the long haire of the one side of their heads, with the skinne gased off with shels or reeds, they brought away They surprised also the women, and the children, and the *Werowance* All these they presented to *Powhatan* The *Werowance*, women and childien became his prisoners, and doe him service [39]

The lockes of haire with their skinnes he hanged on a line betwixt two tiees And thus he made ostentation of his triumph at *Werowocomoco*, where he intended to haue done as much to mee and my company [see pp 82, 133]

And this is as much as my memory can call to minde worthy of note, which I haue purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true wroth and qualitie of *Virginia* Yet some bad natures will not sticke to slander the Countrey, that will slovenly spit at all things, especially in company wheie they can finde none to contradict them Who though they were scaice euer ten myles from *James Towne*, or at the most but at the fallies, yet holding it a great disgrace that amongst so much action, their actions were nothing, exclaime of all things, though they never adventured to know any thing, nor euer did any thing but devoure the fruits of other mens labours Being for most part of such tender educations, and small experiance in Martiall accidents, because they found not English Cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and Alehouses in every breathing

place, neither such plentie of gold and silver and dissolute libertie, as they expected, had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their meanes to retayne for *England*. For the Country was to them a misery, a iuine, a death, a hell, and their reprotoes here, and their actions there according.

Some other there were that had yearlye stipends to passe to and againe for transpotation who to keepe the mysteire of the busynesse in themselues, though they had neither time nor meanes to know much of themselues, yet all mens actions or relations they so formallly tuned to the temporizing times simplicitie, as they could make their ignorances seeme much more, then all the true actoies could by their experience. And those with their great woids deluded the woild with such strange promises, as abused the busynesse much worse then the rest. For the busynesse being builded vpon the foundation of their fained experiance, the plantois, the money and meanes haue still miscarried yet they ever retayning, and the plantois so farre absent, who could contradict their excuses? which, still to maintaine their vaine glory and estimation, from time to time haue vsed such diligence as made them passe for truths, though nothing more false. And that the adventurieis might be thus abused, let no man wonder, for the wisest living is soonest abused by him that hath a fauie tongue and a dissembling heait.

There were many in *Virginia* merely pioecting, verball, and idle contemplatiois, and those so devoted to pure idleness, that though they had liued two or thhee yeares in *Virginia*, lordly, necessitie it selfe could not compell them to passe the *Peninsula*, or *Pallisadoes* of *James Towne*, and those witty spiuts, what would they not affirme in the behalf of our transpoters, to get victuall from their ships, or obtaine their good words in *England*, to get their passes.

Thus from the clamors, and the ignorance of false informers, are spung those disasters that sprung in *Virginia* and our ingenious verbalists were no lesse plague to vs in *Virginia*, then the Locusts to the Egyptians. For the labour of twentie or thirtie of the best onely preserved in

[1607-9] Christianitie by their industrie, the idle liveis of neare two hundred of the rest who liuing neede ten moneths [Oct 1608—10 July 1609] of such natuall meanes, as the Countie naturally of it selfe affoide

Notwithstanding all this, and the woist fury of the Salvages, the extiemtie of sicknesse, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall, in all that time I lost but seaven or eight men, yet subiected the salvages to our desired obedience, and receiuued contribution from thirtie ffe of their Kings, to protect and assist them against any that should assault them, in which order they continued true and faithfull, and as subiects to his Majestie, so long after as I did governe there, vntill I left the Countey

Since, how they haue revolted, the Countie lost, and againe replanted, and the busynesse hath succeeded from time to time, I referre you to the relations of them returnd from *Virginia*, that haue beene moie diligent in such Observations.

John Smith *writ this with his owne hand.* [40]



Because many doe desire to know the
manner of their Language, I haue
inserted these few words

[1607-9]

K	A katorawincs yowo What call you this Nemarough, a man
<i>Crenepo</i> , a woman	
<i>Marowanuhesso</i> , a boy	
<i>Yehawkans</i> , Houses	
<i>Matchcores</i> , Skins, of garments	
<i>Mockasins</i> , Shooes	
<i>Tussan</i> , Beds	
<i>Pokatawer</i> , Fire	
<i>Attawp</i> , A bow.	
<i>Attonce</i> , Arrowes	
<i>Monacookes</i> , Swords	
<i>Aunowulhowgh</i> , A Target	
<i>Pawcussacks</i> , Gunnes	
<i>Tomahacks</i> , Axes	
<i>Tockahacks</i> , Pickaxes.	
<i>Pamesacks</i> , Knives.	
<i>Accowprets</i> , Sheares	
<i>Pawpecones</i> , Pipes	
<i>Mattassim</i> , Copper	
<i>Vssawassin</i> , Iron, Brasse, Silver, or any white metal tall <i>Musses</i> , Woods	
<i>Attasskuss</i> , Leaues, weeds, or grasse	
<i>Chepsin</i> , Land	
<i>Shacquohocan</i> A stone	
<i>Wepenter</i> , A cookold	
<i>Suckahamma</i> , Water.	
<i>Noughmass</i> , Fish	
<i>Copotone</i> , Stuigeon	

<i>Weghshaughes</i> , Flesh.	[pp 44-46]
<i>Sawwehone</i> , Bloud	
<i>Netoppew</i> , Friends	
<i>Marrapough</i> , Enemies	
<i>Maskapow</i> , the worst of the enemies	
<i>Mawchick chammay</i> , The best of friends	
<i>Casacummakack</i> , <i>peya quagh</i> <i>acquantan vttasantasough</i> , In how many daies will theire come hithei any more English Ships	
Then Numbers	
<i>Necut</i> , 1 <i>Ningh</i> , 2 <i>Nuss</i> , 3. <i>Yowgh</i> , 4 <i>Paianske</i> , 5. <i>Comotinch</i> , 6 <i>Toppawoss</i> , 7. <i>Nusswash</i> , 8 <i>Kekatawgh</i> , 9 <i>Kaskeke</i> , 10	
They count no moie but by tennes as followeth	
<i>Case</i> , how many	
<i>Ninghsapooeksku</i> , 20.	
<i>Nussapooeksku</i> , 30	
<i>Yowghapooeksku</i> , 40.	
<i>Parankestassapooeksku</i> , 50	
<i>Comatinchtassapooeksku</i> , 60.	
<i>Nussswashtassapooeksku</i> , 70	
<i>Kekataughtassapooeksku</i> , 90	
<i>Necuttoughtysinough</i> , 100	
<i>Necuttwevnquaough</i> , 1000.	
<i>Rawcosowghs</i> , Dayes.	

- [1607-9] *Keshlowghes, Sunnes*
Toppquough, Nights
 {# 44-46} *Nepawweshowghs, Moones*
Pawparsoughes, Yeares
Pummalumups, Staries
Osies, Heavens
Okees, Gods
Quiyoughcosoughs, Pettie
 Gods, and their affinities
Righcomoughes, Deaths
Kekughes, Liues
Mowchick woyawgh tawgh
noeragh kaquere mecher, I
 am very hungry? what
 shall I eate?
Tawnor nehiegh Powhatan,
 Where dwels Powhatan
Mache, nehiegh yourowgh, Ora-
 paks Now he dwels a great
 way hence at Orapaks
Vittapitchewayne ampechitcs
nehawper Weiowacomoco,

You lie, he staid ever at
 Weiowacomoco
Kator nehiegh mattagh neer
vttapitchewayne, Truely he
 is there I doe not lie
Spaughtynere keragh wcrow-
ance mawmarinough kekatem
wawgh peyaquaugh, Run you
 then to the King Mawma-
 rynough and bid him come
 hither

Vtteke, e peya weyack eigh-
whip, Get you gone, and
 come againe quickly

Kekat Pokahontas patia-
quagh niugh tanks manotyens
neer mowchick rawrenock au-
dowgh, Bid Pokahontas bring
 hither two little Baskets,
 and I will giue hei white
 Beads to make hei a
 Chaine

